THE COUNCIL of the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY have much pleasure in announcing that they have in contemplation the publication, in addition to the Transactions, of a series of volumes of original documents. These volumes will be in quarto form, uniform in size with the publications of the Domesday Commemoration Committee and of the Selden Society. The first volume, which will be brought out under the supervision of the Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D., F.R.Hist.S., University Lecturer on History, Cambridge, will probably consist of the well-known treatise of Sir Walter de Henley on the Management of Manorial Estates, with a little known but very valuable treatise on the same subject by Bishop Robert Grosseteste; a work entitled 'Senescalcia,' the basis of Fleta's chapters on the Duties of Manorial Officers; and an anonymous treatise on 'Husbandry' of the thirteenth century. These treatises appear to have been written with the view of giving landowners such an insight into rural affairs that they should be able to check the administration of the responsible servants; and no series of documents exists which can throw more light on the social condition of England in the thirteenth century. Later volumes will, it is hoped, contain collections of important State Papers, especially of the French Revolution and Napoleonic periods, similar to the Whitworth Despatches recently published by the Society under the editorship of Mr. Oscar Browning.

In order to carry this proposal into effect, the Society requires a larger income than it at present has; and the Council call the attention of the Fellows to the desirability of their exerting themselves to increase the membership of the Society.

P. EDWARD DOVE,
Secretary.

3rd June 1889.

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4th June 1889.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

New Series.

VOL. IV.

COLLEGE
NEW CONCORD
OHIO
111047

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK: 15 EAST 16th STREET.
1889.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VERCINGETORIX.

By Colonel G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* March 17, 1887.)

The knowledge possessed by the general public of the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar rests mainly on the famous Commentaries, the eternal monument to the genius and literary ability of their author. That the writer of the campaigns which had for their object the subjugation of a great country, inhabited by tribes warlike and loving freedom, should have been likewise the planner and executor of those campaigns, and that his story should be practically the only story, are circumstances which, whilst allowing posterity to see the hero as he wished posterity to see him, have tended to obscure the merits, sometimes even to darken unjustly the characters, of the patriots who struggled, often with temporary success, against him. Not only has the greater glory of the conqueror effaced the achievements, in some cases almost equally illustrious, of the conquered, but the heroism of their aims, their noble patriotic rage, have either been passed over in silence or cruelly travestied. They have been made to speak as the conqueror wished them to speak, to think as the conqueror desired them to think, even sometimes to act as he would have had them act. The glory of

Caius Julius, the gratification of his ambition, were the aims of the joint conqueror and historian. Before those aims every other consideration had to give way, even consideration of the character and virtues of those patriotic chiefs who were most nearly thwarting him.

But Time, 'which brings all things,' has gradually vindicated those illustrious men. The researches of modern writers —I may mention particularly those of Thierry, in his 'Histoire des Gaulois'; of Henri Martin, in his 'Histoire de France' and in his 'Vercingétorix'; of Francis Monnier, in his biographical sketch of the same chieftain; and of De Noirmont, in the 'Revue Britannique'—have cast a flood of light on events which had been more or less obscure. France, too, has awakened to the political obligation under which she is to perpetuate the memory of those famous Gauls, who loved their country with a passionate love, and defended it with the resolution of despair.

Of the Gallic heroes there are many; but amongst them there is one who especially possesses for posterity, alike by reason of his noble and unselfish character, his ardent patriotism, his splendid achievements, and his untimely end, a supreme and living interest. He it is, the embodiment of manly grace and of martial virtue, who is the hero of the French writers I have referred too; he it is to whom Napoleon III. erected, in 1865, on Mont-Auxois, a colossal statue in bronze, bearing a fitting inscription taken from the Commentaries of his conqueror; he it is to whom Republican France, not to be surpassed in patriotic zeal by an Emperor, is about to render similar homage; he it is to whose memory and to whose deeds I propose to devote these pages.

Before I speak of the principal personage, or, perhaps, it would be more proper to say, of the more interesting of the two principal personages, of this narrative, it is necessary to go back a little to the period a few years anterior to the nomination of Cæsar to the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria. That nomination was made in the year 58 B.C. At that time, Transalpine Gaul, the government of the Roman

portion of which was added by a decree of the senate to Cæsar's charge, comprehended, speaking generally, the country of which the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea were the boundaries. The portion of this territory to which I have referred as the Roman portion was bounded on the north by Lake Leman and the Swiss mountains, ran on the south to the Mediterranean, and, to the west, half across the neck of land which joins Spain to the continent of Europe.

But it is of the other portion of Gaul, of the independent Gaul, the Gaul outside the Roman province, that I desire to speak. That vast territory was occupied by a number of self-governing tribes, each tribe divided into cantons, and each canton subdivided into communes. Each of these tribes, occupying territories almost analogous in extent to the provinces of pre-revolutionary France, had its constitution, each alike to the other. Royalty, exercised by a member of one particular family, whether by selection or by right of birth, constituted in all the unit basis. Each had a senate, numerically very strong, and a popular assembly, which, comprising all the free members of the tribe, exercised a preponderating authority.

When Cæsar was nominated to his government this system still generally prevailed amongst the tribes of the northern provinces. But amongst the powerful tribes of the centre and of the south-east, amongst the Arverni (occupying the modern Auvergne), the Ædui (the modern Burgundians, dwelling between the Loire and the Saône), the Sequani (dwellers in Franche Comté), the Helvetii (inhabiting the country between Mount Jura, Lake Leman, the Rhone, and the Rhine as far as Lake Constance), an important revolution had occurred shortly before. The aristocracy had overturned the monarchy, and had replaced the king by a council of magistrates bearing a title equivalent to that of grand-judges. These grand-judges governed under the authority of the senate, composed of the high nobility or knights. This nobility, very limited in number, and composed probably of

the descendants of ancient royal families, united amongst themselves by marriage or by common interests, concentrated in its hands all the powers of the State, whether military, financial, or political, and forced the free men, burthened with taxes and become hopelessly involved, to be the vassals of the heads of the several families. Despite occasional attempts made to overthrow this tyranny, and to re-establish the monarchical constitution, a sentiment of patriotism animated the breasts of all classes of the community: they had aspirations, vague and undefined it is true, but still aspirations, after national union; and it is possible that had the several tribes been undisturbed by foreign invasion the sentiment might have in course of time become a reality. What they wanted was time.

But time was the one thing which the new proconsul was resolved not to allow them. The five years for which the government of his province had been granted to him were to be spent in enterprises which should pave the way to the attainment of supreme power. Before he quitted Rome, Cæsar had decided how to open the campaign which he had mentally matured. To divide, to conquer by dividing, to foment jealousies amongst the tribes, to assist the weak against the strong, in order the more easily to devour both, and thus gradually to conquer all—this was the plan which has always succeeded, and always will succeed, against a divided nation, much more easily against a number of independent tribes, which, though of one nationality, had not as yet become a nation.

I have said that before he quitted Rome Cæsar had settled his plan. The Helvetii, moved by reasons relating entirely to the increasing difficulty of supporting themselves in the barren tracts which they inhabited, had resolved to migrate to the more fertile plains of Gaul. Their journey would take them across a corner of the Roman province. They applied therefore to Cæsar for permission to cross that corner. In that application Cæsar saw his opportunity. The Helvetii had accompanied the Cimbri and Teutŏnes in that invasion

of Italy which had been foiled by the skill and energy of Marius. Here was an opportunity to destroy an enemy who had struck Rome with terror. Cæsar, then, parried the request until he had in hand a sufficient number of troops; then he refused it. He granted the applicants, however, permission to traverse the country of the Sequani; by this means enlisted for himself the friendship of the Ædui; waited till three-fourths of the Helvetian emigrants had crossed the river Saône; then fell upon, and, after a bloody and long doubtful battle, completely defeated them. Not content with that, he forced the survivors back upon the country they had abandoned, upon the homes they had burned, and the fields they had devastated before they quitted it. This was the first lesson. In future operations, the Helvetii, more than two-thirds of whom he had destroyed, would not count for much against him.

Not long did he wait for the second opportunity. He had selected the Ædui for his special patronage, they constituting, alike from their importance and flexible character, the lever which he could best work against their rivals, the Arverni and the Sequani. Trusting probably to their friendship with the great Roman, the Ædui began at this period to press their rivals very hard. The Arverni and the Sequani then invoked the assistance of Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, inhabiting the country on the further bank of the Rhine. The aid of Ariovistus enabled the Sequani and the Arverni to recover their position, and in their turn the Ædui are pressed. The Ædui then, as Cæsar had foreseen, implore the aid of Cæsar. Cæsar responds; attacks Ariovistus, and, after some very hard fighting, drives him and the remnant of his Suevi across the Rhine. Thus is eliminated another enemy, one who might have seriously interfered with his designs.

The year 57 B.C. was equally utilised by Cæsar. Enlisting on his side the Remi, a powerful tribe of Belgian Gaul, he subdued in turn the Belgæ, the Suessiónes, the Bellovăci, the Ambiáni, and then, after a fiercely contested and long doubtful battle, the Nervii. Terrified by the fate

of the powerful Nervii, the Aduatĭci submit, though their submission does not save them from being slaughtered. In every quarter the great Cæsar is victorious, and the close of the year 57 sees the Romans masters of the country represented by the modern towns of Trèves, Amiens, Arras, Beauvais, Soisson, Noyons, Lille, Namur, a portion of the Ardennes, and the entire territory from the Scheldt to the Bay of Biscay.

The year 56 was not less propitious to the fortunes of the conqueror. The Venĕti, a tribe powerful in ships, who dwelt in the country represented now by the department of the Morbihan, had dared to refuse to send corn to Crassus, and had even detained the ambassadors sent to them by that young general. Cæsar, who was on the point of setting out for his Illyrian province when the information reached him, makes instant preparations for the subjugation of that daring tribe. Sending his lieutenants respectively to the countries of the Treviri, to the banks of the Rhine, into Aquitania, and into northern Brittany and Normandy, to maintain order in. or to conquer, those parts, he marches himself into the territory of the Veneti, whilst his loved and trusted lieutenant, Decimus Brutus, attacks them on the element on which they are most powerful. Again does Cæsar triumph. He uses his victory *more suo*; that is, he beheads all the nobles as an example, and sells the people into slavery. Meanwhile, Aquitania is conquered by Crassus. Cæsar then winds up the year by an attempt on the country of the Morĭni, occupying the territory represented now by Boulogne and Calais, and the Menapii, dwelling near the mouths of the Rhine and of the Scheldt. But here the weather and the season combine to foil him, so, after burning villages and laying waste fields, he puts his army into winter quarters in the country south of the Seine.

Defeated though they had been, neither the Gauls nor the Germans had been thoroughly subdued. Early in the following year, 55 B.C., the Usípĕtes and the Tenctĕri, tribes which had been dispossessed by the Suevi, invaded the territories of the Menăpii, surprised and massacred them, then

crossed the Rhine near its mouth and located themselves for the remainder of the winter in the lands on the left bank of the river. With these intruders Cæsar first negotiates, then attacks them, and literally drives them into the Rhine. According to his account we must conclude that 180,000 of them perished in the waters or on the banks of that famous river. Cæsar then crossed the river with his army, the first time it ever had been crossed by a regular army, ravaged the homes of the Sicambri, confirmed the friendship of the Ubii, and then, after a stay there of eighteen days, returned to the left bank. There being little left for him now to accomplish in Gaul, Cæsar devoted the short remainder of the fighting season to the invasion of Britain: lands on the island in the face of hostile cavalry; makes good his footing; obtains hostages; and returns. He concludes the year's operations by chastising the Morini, who had revolted, and by burning the homes of the Menapii.

The year following, 54 B.C., is devoted almost entirely to Britain. Cæsar lands, marches some way into the interior of the island, receives homage, and returns to Gaul (August–September). He had established his troops about a fortnight in their winter quarters, when the Eburónes, a tribe which dwelt between the Rhine and the Maas, led by the younger of their two kings, Ambiorix, surprised the camp of his lieutenants, Sabinus and Cotta, at Aduatŭca (probably the modern Tongres), and cut to pieces a legion and a half. Ambiorix and his army then join the Nervii and lay siege to the camp of another of Cæsar's lieutenants, Quintus Tullius Cicero, brother of the famous orator, at the modern Charleroi. Cicero was in imminent danger, for the roads communicating with Cæsar were carefully watched and guarded. He manages, however, to induce a Gaulish slave to convey a letter concealed in a dart to his chief. Cæsar acts with his usual promptitude: marches towards Charleroi with what troops he can make disposable; by the very rumour of his approach releases Cicero, and forces Ambiorix to raise the siege; intrenches himself at Mont Sainte-Aldegonde; by a

feigned timidity induces the Gauls to attack him, and completely defeats them. This timely victory prevents the impending revolt of the Trevĭri. In the course of this year his proconsulate was extended for another period of five years.

When the year 53 dawned, the position of Cæsar in Gaul was far from reassuring. There was not one tribe which did not feel most acutely the degradation of the Roman yoke or the Roman alliance. The formidable Nervii and the Eburónes, led by a chief remarkable alike for ruse and courage, were in arms; the Treviri were waiting only for a favourable opportunity; their success would ignite the whole of Gaul. Knowing this, Cæsar felt the necessity to strike quickly and to strike hard. The Nervii were his first victims. Upon these he pounces unexpectedly, whilst it is yet winter, and destroys them. The Senŏnes and the Carnútes, who had agreed to make common cause with the Nervii, then bow their heads in submission. Then he attacks and completely disposes of the Menapii, burning their homesteads, taking their cattle, and making slaves of their men. Meanwhile his lieutenant, Labienus, has enticed into premature battle and made short work of the Treviri. Cæsar then crosses once more the Rhine, partly to punish the Germans for having sent aid to the Nervii, partly to intimidate them from sheltering Ambiorix. He does little there, however, so he recrosses and follows vigorously the trail of that much-hated chieftain. One of his lieutenants, Basilus, misses the prey by a hair's breadth; but that miss is the last chance. Ambiorix, attended by a few, a very few, it is said only four, devoted followers, betakes himself to the then impenetrable forests of the Ardennes, and escapes the vengeance of the conqueror; his brother-king, Cativolcus, poisons himself; the homesteads and the fields of the Eburónes are burned and laid waste. Yet, despite the vigilance of the imperator, the Romans again nearly encountered a disaster. Whilst Cæsar was pursuing Ambiorix, the Sicambri crossed the Rhine to pick up what was to be gathered of the property of the scattered Eburónes. They learn that Cicero's camp at Aduatŭca is feebly guarded.

They attempt to surprise the place; almost, but not quite succeed; the firm countenance of the Roman garrison forces them at last to beat a retreat; they retire slowly, with their booty, towards the Rhine, and succeed in crossing it unmolested. It was perhaps as well for them that they failed; for the ubiquitous Cæsar reached Aduatuca within twenty-four hours of their departure. The short remainder of the season was spent mainly in the fruitless pursuit of Ambiorix, and the devastation of the territory of the Eburónes. Having at length realised the fact that Ambiorix had escaped him, Cæsar placed his army in winter quarters.

The seventh year of Cæsar's government of Gaul introduces to us the hero of this article, the high-souled and gallant Vercingetorix. Before bringing him on to the stage I propose to give a short account of his family, his position, and his antecedents.

The Commentaries cast but a faint light upon these points. In them Cæsar speaks of Vercingetorix as a young man exercising considerable authority. He was, in fact, the son of Celtillus, a chief of the Arverni, the leading spirit of the national party in Gaul, and who, elected year after year to be the chief magistrate of his tribe, had caused their capital, Gergŏvĭa (probably in the vicinity of the modern Clermont), to be regarded as the head-quarters of Gaulish politics. On the accusation of a brother, who was jealous of him, to the effect that he was aspiring to become king of all Gaul, Celtillus was tried, condemned to death, and burned alive. This occurred apparently in the year 60 B.C.

Vercingetorix was then twenty years old. The death of Celtillus had been the death likewise of the national party in the councils of the Arverni, and in these his uncle, a supporter of the Roman alliance, was now supreme. Vercingetorix had not shared the disgrace of his father, nor had that disgrace affected either his position or his claim on his father's death to the family estates. These he had inherited, and on these he lived quietly and undisturbed during the two years immediately following the event which made him an orphan.

But in the year 58 B.C. we find him attending, in his capacity of nobleman, the assembly of the Gauls which took place after the defeat of the Helvetii. There he first saw Cæsar, and there Cæsar attempted to gain him. He thought he had gained him, and he even took credit to himself for the generosity with which he treated him, that generosity being evidenced by his refraining from urging on the chiefs of the Arverni the spoliation, in favour of the uncle, of the family estates. But Vercingetorix was not gained. Possessing a nature thoroughly self-contained, a patriotism above and beyond all selfish considerations, and the prudence which proceeds ordinarily from experience, he endeavoured, in these early days, to make himself as much as possible effaced. Observing everything connected with the Romans with a critical and anxious eye, the discipline of their troops, their armament, their battle formation, and drawing his own conclusions as to the possibilities of the future, he kept his own counsel, and, in the debates of the assembly, sided neither with the party led by his uncle, which advocated an intimate alliance with Rome, nor with that led by the old friends of his father, who were for war at all cost. He was not at all moved, then, from the line he had marked out for himself when he saw that, as a consequence of Cæsar's victory over Ariovistus, the supremacy amongst the tribes of Gaul passed from the Arverni to the Ædui.

The victories of Cæsar in the years that followed, and, more than the victories, the terrible results which followed them, confirmed the patriotism whilst it steeled against the conqueror the heart of Vercingetorix. With consuming rage in his breast he saw, the year following, the powerful tribe of the Nervii, deemed by the Gauls invincible, almost exterminated; the Aduatici slaughtered under circumstances of the most revolting perfidy; the other tribes of the Belgæ subdued. Where and how, he asked himself, will it end? The next two years brought him but little encouragement. In 56 he beheld the reduction by the Romans of the western tribes of Gaul, in 55 the absorption of the province known to the

modern world as Aquitaine. In 54 the victory of Ambiorix over Sabinus and Cotta, and his subsequent attack on Cicero, brought a gleam of hope. It was but a gleam indeed. The balance of the year, despite its early promise, was against the Gauls. The relief of Cicero, followed by the defeat of Ambiorix, had restored to Rome her predominance.

If even one small scintilla of hope, based on the early success of Ambiorix, had still maintained its vitality at the close of 54, it was certainly most completely extinguished in 53. That year witnessed, as we have seen, the second and more complete destruction of the Nervii; the disappearance, as a hopeless fugitive, of Ambiorix; the slaughter and submission of the Trevĭri, and the almost complete effacement of the Eburónes. But there was something more in the plans of the cold and calculating Cæsar than his method of warfare against the Gallic tribes which had arrested the attention of Vercingetorix. He had observed that whenever a Gaulish chief had displayed the smallest independence of thought or action he had been summarily made away with. Thus Dumnŏrix, the Æduan, who had moved off with the horsemen of his tribe rather than share in the second expedition to Britain, was promptly slain; Indutiomárus, the leader of the national party amongst the Treviri, had been killed as a measure of precaution, his son-in-law, who was in the Roman interest, having denounced him; and now, in this last year, in 53, Acco, chief of the Senŏnes, accused of having incited to revolt that tribe and the Carnútes, was condemned and executed. We must always bear in mind that though each and all of these executions might easily be justified from a Roman standpoint, they would appear in a different light to a patriotic Gaul, who denied the right of the Romans to invade and occupy his country, and in whose eyes opposition to, or desertion of, the foreigner, after compulsory enlistment, was a sacred duty, the very reverse of treason.

Vercingetorix had little need, indeed, of these examples to convince him of the necessity of caution. He knew Cæsar well, and he was aware that in any scheme he might devise

to obtain the independence of Gaul he would play with his head. Self-contained and self-trusting as he was, he knew that a revolt, to be successful, must be general, that all Gaul must rise against the oppressor. He had, therefore, to make confidences. The first whom he trusted was Lucterius, chief of the Cadurci (whose capital was the modern Orleans), a 'man full of daring'; but others were soon added to the list, for Plutarch affirms that the conspiracy had for a long time been secretly prepared. That the confederates were well chosen is proved by the fact that the Romans did not obtain the smallest inkling of their designs.

Before I enter upon the details of the plan devised by the young Gaulish chief for the liberation of his country, I propose to bring him in person upon the stage, to show him exactly as he was, according to the testimony of those who had the best means of forming an opinion.

Vercingetorix had seen at this period twenty-eight summers. He was tall in stature. The expression of his face was noble and imposing, but very terrible in anger. He had the great gift of eloquence, and a voice to persuade as well as to command. The genius of war had been grafted in him at his birth, and he was of the dominant type which can impose its will upon feebler natures. He was a stern, even a severe disciplinarian; but it must be remembered that to combat with a chance of success against the Romans strict discipline was essential.

A great German writer, one who so believed in Cæsar that he claimed for him almost absolute perfection, and who was not therefore disposed to regard his opponents with favourable eyes, the illustrious Mommsen, has pronounced Vercingetorix to have been rather a paladin than a hero. The context of the judgment which concludes with this sentence plainly shows that Mommsen, whilst granting to the Gaulish chief the possession of many noble qualities, denied to him the gift of statesmanship. In other words, Vercingetorix had in his nature too little selfishness, too much self-sacrifice. 'As,' wrote Mommsen, 'after a stormy day, when the setting sun

disperses the clouds, so does destiny often bestow upon a decaying people one last great man. Thus Hannibal in the decline of Carthage, thus Vercingetorix in the last days of Gaul; neither could save his country from the foreigner, but both saved it from the disgrace of succumbing without resistance. Like the Carthaginian, Vercingetorix had to struggle, without, against the enemy; within, against the anti-national opposition of egotists and cowards, the invariable product of a decaying civilisation, and whose repose is always troubled by the convulsions of the supreme combat. History will accord to him a glorious place in its annals, not only for his great deeds in war, but specially because he knew how to constitute in his own person a centre of resistance for a nation falling into ruin, dislocated by *particularism*.

'And yet there could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between the austere citizen of the trading Phœnician republic, pursuing its grand aims with an indomitable energy for half a century, and the valiant Gaulish prince whose lofty deeds and magnanimous devotion are confined to the short space of one summer. Antiquity in its entirety does not know a man more chivalrous than Vercingetorix, alike in his character and his outward form; but a man, especially a statesman, ought not to be chivalrous. He was a paladin, not a man, who refused to fly from Alesia, when his life was more precious for his people than were the lives of a hundred thousand ordinary warriors. He was a paladin, not a hero, who delivered himself up as a sacrifice, when that sacrifice imposed upon his nation the dishonour of abandoning their chief. . . . How different was the conduct of Hannibal in similar circumstances! And yet it is not possible to part from the noble king of the Arverni without a profound sentiment of sympathy. . . . But it is a distinctive mark of the Celtic race that its greatest man was but a paladin.'

This criticism of a hostile author, of one who, I repeat, could see in the conqueror of Vercingetorix nothing but the absolutely perfect, testifies alike to the faults and to the merits of the young Gaulish hero. Who that possesses a generous

heart will deny that those faults were based upon virtues which are too rare, upon qualities which enlist sympathy and admiration?

To return now to the narrative. The death of Acco, recorded in a preceding page, had roused amongst the Gaulish chiefs a feeling of bitter resentment. For them death on the battle-field was infinitely preferable to the lingering torture of living under the yoke of Rome, subjected to the reports of spies in her pay. More eagerly than ever were they awaiting the opportunity which always comes to those who wait, when information from Rome seemed to indicate that it was upon them. The death in Rome of Cæsar's trusted agent, Clodius, and the increased and increasing jealousy of Cæsar displayed by the senate, presaged a large diminution of the power and influence of the great proconsul. If the hour to strike had not arrived, at all events the time had come to conspire and to prepare. They had the later autumn and winter before them; every hour of it must be utilised.

So, at least, thought Vercingetorix. During the days which followed the departure of Cæsar for Rome, after the close of the campaign of 53, he conspired, at first secretly, amongst all the tribes of Gaul. His object was to unite where the aim of Cæsar had been to divide. He despatched, then, emissaries to the several tribes of the west: to the Senŏnes, the Pictŏnes, the Turŏni, the Aulerci, the Lemovíces, and the Andecávi; to prepare them for the coming struggle. By means of Lucterius, chief of the Cadurci, he was able to rally to the national cause not only that tribe but the Ruténi, the Gabăli, the Auscii, the Tarbelli, the Nitiobríges; that is, all the tribes of Gallia Aquitania. The people of Gallia Narbonensis were likewise incited to hold themselves in readiness. The Belgæ, and the tribes on both banks of the Séquăna (Seine), hastened to offer their co-operation. Then, when the understanding is complete, Vercingetorix sends messengers to each tribal capital to bid the chiefs to hold themselves in readiness for the signal which he will give. Then, having failed to rally to the national cause the leading men of his own capital, Gergŏvĭa—the same

men who had killed his father—he proceeds with his adherents to a large oak forest near the modern Chartres; meets there deputies from many of the confederate tribes; delivers to them an impassioned harangue, in which he reminds them of their ancient liberties, and announces that he is ready to lead them to recover them. It was the end of December 53; the ground is covered with snow; the Druids, giving to the occasion the sanctity of religion, wave aloft the national standard as all take the oath of fidelity, as all promise secrecy; the Carnútes, countrymen of the murdered Acco, engage to begin the war.

This meeting is followed by others of a similar character, held in different parts of the country, and in this way the Gauls become familiarised with the hero whom they already begin to regard as their saviour. By degrees his eloquence, his earnest appeals, his strong and ardent character, subdue them. He assumes supreme authority over them, enacts laws of the most stringent severity, gives evidence that he intends to carry out those laws, to use them as a punishment for the false, and as a warning for the slack-hearted, and at length collects a large army. Suddenly the Carnutes make a dash on Genăbum (Orleans), in which the Romans are the dominating party, gain the city, and communicate their success the same day to Vercingetorix. For him it is the passage of the Rubicon. At the head of his country levies he marches on Gergovia, expels thence the Roman party, despatches Lucterius into Gallia Narbonensis, and demands from the Gaulish cities already gained their several contingents. These, true to their compact, hasten in crowds to Gergovia, hail Vercingetorix as their chief, accept his discipline and his laws. A short period is then devoted to their better organisation, especially to the disciplining of the cavalry. This accomplished, Vercingetorix marches on Avaricum (Bourges), with the design to cut the route which Cæsar must follow.

The difficulties of Cæsar with the senate had been but adjusted, thanks to the efforts of Pompey, and he was actually

at Ravenna, when the news of the rising of the Gauls reached him. Raising on the spot all the levies upon whom he could lay hand, and continuing to raise others as he proceeded, he hurried on to Marseilles. There he found that he had altogether 10,000 men in hand. He had but one thought, and that was to reach Andomatúnum (Langres), the head-quarters of his army, and, uniting there all his legions, to fall upon the insurgent masses. To this end he resolved to force Vercingetorix from his position in central Gaul, then to return southwards to foil him should he attempt, as he probably would, to cut him off from his base at Marseilles. The plan displays, as much as any that Cæsar thought out in his life, the marvellous prevision of the great Roman.

It was the depth of winter. The slopes of the mountains were covered with snow, the passes were blocked up; to an ordinary man the way was impassable. But Cæsar did not hesitate. Marching by a double line of route he concentrates his little force in the country of the Helvi, neighbours of the Arverni, and separated from them only by the terrible Cevennes. Sheltered by its peaks and passes, by its glaciers and its avalanches, the Arverni had deemed themselves safe, on that side, from attack. But they are not safe from Cæsar. Neither the falling snow, the continuous frost, nor the buried paths, stop his progress. It is himself, almost always on foot, his head bare, his countenance full of confidence and resolution, who, scorning the weight of his fifty years, literally leads his men over these impassable barriers. At length the summit is reached, and, flanked on the right by the chain of the Vivarais, on the left by that of the Margeride, the legions descend, at the rapid rate of five leagues a day, into the valley of the Allier. In five days they can reach Gergovia.

The apparition of the Roman legions descending the mountain barriers which had promised protection against an invader roused all the apprehensions of the Arverni. Vercingetorix is recalled from the vicinity of Avaricum to defend the capital of his tribe. Reluctantly he obeys the summons.

But Cæsar has no immediate intention of marching on Gergovia. Rather will he hasten to Vienna (Vienne), on the Rhône, to pick up the cavalry cantoned at that place. Leaving, then, the camp which he has formed near Brivata (Brioude) in charge of the young Brutus, with orders to ravage all the country around, he gallops with but a small escort eastwards, and, again defying the difficulties of the road, reaches without obstacle the capital of the Allobroges. Taking with him the cavalry he found there, he hurries with all speed northwards, traverses the territories of the Segusiani, of the Insŭbres, and of the Ambarri, till he reaches, at length, the lands of the Ædui, whilom his allies, but not entirely trusted since the death of Dumnorix. Still hurrying onwards, Cæsar marches along the right bank of the river, the Saône, which separated the territory of the Ædui from that of the Sequani, to Andomatunum (Langres), where two legions were in winter quarters. With these and the troops he had brought with him he hastens to Agedicum (Sens), and joins to himself the four legions there under Labienus. He has now his entire army in hand, having made, in the depth of winter, and through hostile territories, one of the most astounding marches of which history makes record. It may be truly affirmed that it was that brilliant march which reconquered Gaul.

Meanwhile Vercingetorix, freed from his apprehensions regarding the capital of the Arverni, had undertaken the siege of the Gergovia of the Boii, a city which Cæsar had founded to serve as a Roman post in the heart of Gaul, with the view of enticing his antagonist to enter on a campaign during the winter in a denuded country. Willingly would Cæsar have deferred the campaign till the coming spring. But it was above all necessary to confirm the impression made by his wonderful march. He sets out from Agedicum with six legions, his cavalry, and the auxiliaries, and reaches Vellaunodunum (Château-Landon) the next day. Thence he falls upon, takes, and pillages Genabum (Orleans), and massacres

the inhabitants ; then marches on Noviodunum (Nouan-le-Fuselier), which surrenders to his summons.

But as the Roman soldiers are marching into Noviodunum an unexpected sight presents itself to their leader's gaze. This was the advanced guard, the cavalry of the Gaulish army, moving across the plain in the direction of Noviodunum. Instantly Cæsar tries to seize the opportunity : his light cavalry gallop forward to engage the enemy ; they are repulsed ; but the splendid German horsemen will succeed, so they are ordered to the front. But if Cæsar is there, so also is Vercingetorix ; and the young Gaul has no desire to risk the independence of his country on a single battle. His plans are formed. He has succeeded in drawing Cæsar into a winter campaign, and he will make him suffer the consequences. He draws back his advanced cavalry, then, and avoids the battle which Cæsar has tried to force on him.

The next day, at a council of war, Vercingetorix thus discloses his plans to the other Gaulish chiefs. It is to use their numerous cavalry to hover about the enemy, to cut off his supplies, to destroy his foraging parties in detail, to lay waste the country, even to burn the towns. 'We are secure,' he added ; 'our provisions are stored for us in the larger fortified towns ; and if Cæsar, starved as he will be, should attack any one of those, as, to save himself, he most assuredly will, we must not shrink from the last alternative, we must burn those also. Better any fate than to see our wives and children carried into captivity, and our nation enslaved.'

The words of the Gaulish chief are received with the wildest enthusiasm. With statesmanlike adroitness he seizes the propitious moment, and launches his horsemen, torch in hand, in every direction. In one day more than twenty towns of the Bitŭrĭges, they consenting, are burned to the ground. The neighbouring tribes, the Carnútes and others, show as much patriotism as the Bituriges, and in a few days the country about the Roman camp is one vast flame. It is the counter-blow of Vercingetorix to the marvellous march of Cæsar.

That great captain recognises in an instant the danger and the difficulty. With characteristic decision he hastens to manœuvre so as to minimise the first and to overcome the second. He marches then with the utmost speed upon Avaricum (Bourges), the best-supplied city in Gaul, hoping to reach it before it shall be burned. Vercingetorix, not less prescient than his enemy, detects the object of the hurried march, and rejoices to think that he is in a position to baffle it. He is nearer to Avaricum than is Cæsar, and he can burn it before Cæsar can arrive. But to do this he must have the consent of his chiefs. He calls then a second council of war. Before this council there present themselves deputies from the Bituriges, imploring with tears that this one place may be spared to them. They urge its strong position, accessible only on one point, and their capacity to defend it against any enemy. Their tears and their entreaties gain the other chiefs, but Vercingetorix remains firm. 'If we burn Avaricum,' he repeated, 'Gaul is freed.' But he stands alone in his resolve; and at last he, too, cannot resist the insistence of his own chiefs. In a fatal moment he gives way. To put it shortly and succinctly, to save Avaricum he risks all Gaul. And he knew that he risked it. Would Hannibal have acted thus? It was, undoubtedly, for weaknesses of this character that Mommsen pronounces the Gaul to have been only a paladin.

Cæsar sits down before Avaricum and besieges it. But his difficulties are enormous. The country around him has been scoured by the Gaulish horsemen, the cattle have been driven away; his Gaulish allies, the Ædui and the Boii, render him no efficient aid. And, to crown all, Vercingetorix takes up a position on a hill covered by a marsh, five leagues from Avaricum, where in the present day stands the hamlet of Sainte-Radegonde, and continues thence to disquiet his enemy. Vainly on one occasion did Cæsar attempt to surprise the Gauls in their position. He found their army drawn up behind its strong defence, ready to receive him. He, too, did not dare to risk a battle in which defeat would be destruction; so he returned to his camp before Avaricum.

In that camp his soldiers had a bad time of it. Often did a day pass without providing them with a meal; never did they have sufficient to appease their hunger. But they did not complain. They even insisted on continuing the siege when Cæsar, compassionating their sufferings, proposed to raise it. Their splendid pertinacity is at length rewarded. Under cover of a violent storm, Cæsar, after a siege which had lasted many days, stormed Avaricum. Out of a population of 40,000, only 800, he tells us, escaped to the Gaulish camp. The remainder he allowed to be slaughtered. So great was the terror engendered by the storm and its consequences that the rest of the tribe, the Bituriges, evacuated their devastated country, and stopped not till they reached the banks of the Garonne. There they halted; and there they founded the modern Bordeaux.

Meanwhile Vercingetorix has had his share of troubles. One party amongst his countrymen, terrified at the near vicinity of the Romans, has accused him of wishing to betray them to Cæsar. He easily disposes of this calumny, and continues his efforts to assist the besieged and to thwart Cæsar. When at last he is satisfied that every chance of successful defence has vanished, he sends orders, the night before the actual storming, for the quiet evacuation of the place. The besieged begin the evacuation, and might have succeeded but for the cries of the women, which betray their movement to the Romans, and these take advantage of it in the manner described. After the place has been stormed he is not discouraged. At a meeting which he convenes of his warriors he urges them not to be downcast, for that the art of besieging strong places is an art in which the Romans excel; that war is not unvarying success; that he had always opposed the defending of Avaricum, but had yielded to the prayers of the Bituriges. 'But,' he added, 'I shall soon repair this disaster by obtaining for you greater advantages. I shall rally to our cause the cities which have not yet joined us. I shall form a single Assembly for all Gaul, and when that shall have been accomplished the whole world itself will be unable to resist

it.' He then urged them to fortify their camp, and they carried out his orders with so much skill and vigour that in a few days it had become impregnable. He sends also offers to and receives assurances of support from other tribes of Gaul. The fall of Avaricum had really served to increase his influence. In a moment of disaster he had known how to inspire the hearts of his followers with hope, to reawaken their confidence. Thanks to these feelings, widely spread over the country, many tribes sent in their adhesion, and their contingents flocked rapidly into his camp.

Meanwhile Cæsar, with the largest army he had till then employed in Gaul, for, exclusive of cavalry and auxiliaries, it counted ten legions, passed the Gaulish camp without venturing to attack it, and marched to Decetia (Decize), a town of the Ædui, to influence the election of the chief magistrate of the tribe. There was a Roman candidate and there was a national candidate, and, naturally, after Cæsar had arrived, the former was preferred. At the great assembly of the tribe which followed Cæsar announced that he was going to subdue all Gaul, the territory of the Ædui excepted. To them he promised rewards and independence if they would remain firm to the alliance. Then, dividing his army into two divisions, he gave one to Labienus, with orders to compel the submission of the north; with the other he ascended the right bank of the Allier, and marched straight upon Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni.

Carefully had Vercingetorix watched every movement of his enemy. Divining, with the true instinct of a great commander, the aim of the march up the Allier, he broke up his camp at Sainte-Radegonde, and hurried to defend the capital. Under its walls, he felt, the fate of Gaul must be decided. Marching up the left bank of the river, the bridges across which he had taken care to destroy, on a line parallel to that of Cæsar on the right bank, he reached the town, which is on the left bank, before his rival. Cæsar, then, to attack the town, had to perform that most difficult operation, the passage of a rapid river, which at that season more resembled a

torrent, in the presence of an enemy and a hostile town. Even to him who had so often 'conquered the impossible' the task seemed too dangerous. He therefore resolved to try what a stratagem would effect. With this view he placed two legions in ambush in a wooded valley (known now as La Glacière), near the point where one of the bridges had been destroyed, sending the rest of his army forward, spread out so as to conceal the absence of the two legions. Having thus lulled the suspicions of the Gauls, he spends the night in repairing the broken bridge, crosses with his two legions before daybreak, and the remainder of his army the same morning. Vercingetorix, finding himself thus out-manœuvred, hastens to throw his army into Gergovia, and into the counterforts which cover the place. There he awaits placidly the approach of Cæsar.

Gergovia was situated on the summit of a lofty hill, 1,240 feet above the plain, forming a plateau 1,620 yards in length with a breadth of more than 540 yards. The northern and eastern slopes were so steep as to defy the most active assailant; those on the southern face were less difficult; on the west the hill is united by a narrow defile to another height, somewhat lower, that of Risolles; beyond, again, are the detached hills of Montrognon and Le Puy-Giroux; whilst opposite its southern slope, at the very foot of the hill, but separated from it, rises another steep hill called the Roche Blanche. All these points, excepting the last-named, had been strongly occupied and fortified by Vercingetorix.

The sight, then, which met the anxious gaze of Cæsar as he approached Gergovia was sufficient to make the boldest leader pause. Every defensible point was occupied, every approach was covered. In the midst of the Gaulish camp might be recognised the magnificent tent of Vercingetorix, the tent where he daily held council with the divisional commanders. Cæsar recognised on the instant that direct attack was out of the question. He marched on, however, across the plain at the foot of the Gaulish position and finally halted

and encamped in a plain between three and four miles beyond, covered by the waters of the Allier. Here he intrenched himself, and then proceeded to reconnoitre more thoroughly the enemy's position.

Cæsar soon recognised that the position was impregnable: that his only hope of taking it lay in the chance of a surprise. He therefore, from that moment, bent all his faculties to contrive one. First, in order to get nearer to the hostile position, he creeps up and seizes the Roche Blanche, the hill which Vercingetorix had neglected to occupy in force because he had felt he could not hold it permanently. The possession of this hill is important to the Romans, because it commands the pasturages of Chanonat and the waters of the Auzon, and offers a position whence to watch the enemy's movements. Cæsar occupies it with two legions, and begins to unite it by a double ditch, twelve feet deep, with his position covered by the Allier. Every day there occur between the two armies combats of cavalry in the plain, brought on mostly by the Gauls, Vercingetorix being anxious to accustom his warriors to look the formidable Romans in the face. In these combats the number and the position of the Gauls gave them generally the advantage. Never, however, did the Gaulish chief allow them to bring about a general engagement; all his hopes, all his efforts, were directed to induce Cæsar to attack his position.

For the moment events seemed to help him. The Æduan chief, who, by the aid of Cæsar, had obtained the chief place in his tribe, had displayed a disposition to rally to the national cause, and Cæsar, to nip the revolt in its bud, had marched with all his cavalry and four legions towards the Æduan country. On this expedition he was absent four days. Those days were well employed by Vercingetorix. Descending from the hill with his most disciplined troops he attacks the larger camp of the Romans, that behind the Allier, and presses them so hard that their commander, Fabius, sends messenger after messenger to Cæsar to recall him. Cæsar returns, and, struck with the danger of his

position should there be, as seemed possible, a general rising of all Gaul, thinks for a moment of retreat. Further reflection convincing him, however, that such a movement would bring about the catastrophe he dreads, he changes his plans, and, learning from his spies that the Gauls, occupied mainly with the defence of the northern face of their position, had neglected the southern, resolves to beat them up on that side. The night following, then, making as though he had designs against the northern face, Cæsar directs his Æduan allies to turn Gergovia by the right, whilst he leads a legion which he had placed in ambush to the main assault. He surprises the outposts of the sleeping Gauls, and, with a bound, reaches the walls of the town (oppidum). For a moment the terrified inhabitants think that they are lost. The women rush to the ramparts, and, casting their richest stuffs to the assailants, implore their mercy. But the Romans are not stopped. A centurion named Fabius, who, excited by the tale of the richness of the place, had sworn to be the first into the town, mounts the rampart, followed by three of his men. All is apparently lost, when Vercingetorix, galloping through the town at the head of his cavalry, appears on the threatened spot. Instantly he throws himself on the assailants, and, reinforced constantly by fresh troops, compels the Romans to give ground. Cæsar, who, too, has received fresh supplies of men, asserts, in his Commentaries, that on the first appearance of Vercingetorix he ordered a retreat. But it was not the habit of Cæsar to be turned from a cherished project by the apparition of one man, if that project had any chance of success. No: it was not the mere appearance on the spot of Vercingetorix; it was the valour and increasing numbers of the Gauls led by him, that baffled Cæsar. Another circumstance came, a few moments later, to render more certain his defeat. The daring men who had ascended the rampart had been hurled from it, or been killed; and the Romans, discouraged, were already more than half inclined to think only of their own safety, when suddenly a body of fierce Gauls appeared on their left flank. Stricken by panic, the Romans did

not recognise these Gauls to be, as they were, their Æduan allies. Imagining themselves threatened in flank whilst they were attacked in front, for Vercingetorix had assumed a vigorous offensive, they gave way, and, pursued by the Gauls, descended into the plain. There they re-formed their broken ranks. But Vercingetorix will not compromise the success he has achieved. He returns to camp satisfied with having slain more than 700 Romans, with having repulsed, in the face of Gaul, the great Cæsar, who, his apologists admit, had that day brought to the decisive point all his legions but one.

In one respect the repulse sustained by Cæsar was decisive. It caused him to raise the siege of Gergovia. Believing that the news of his defeat would rouse all Gaul against him, he, after two days of skirmishing to encourage his men, retired precipitately, that is, by forced marches of thirty miles a day, into the territory of the Ædui. But there he finds cold comfort. Even the submissive Ædui have felt the influence of his defeat. Much harassed, and with great difficulty, he marches northwards to effect a junction with Labienus. Labienus, equally anxious for the union, is marching southwards. For though, by a series of skilful manœuvres, he had defeated the Parisii at Issy, the prospect of being surrounded by the insurgent Gauls had forced him to move towards Cæsar. The junction took place, in the opinion of Cæsar's imperial biographer, at Joviniacum (Joigny), near the right bank of the Yonne. Hitherto, for the Romans, the campaign had been a failure. Neither the commander-in-chief nor the lieutenant had made any impression on the revolted tribes.

Why did not Vercingetorix pursue Cæsar? Surely he did not refrain because he was 'only a paladin.' A leader who had been 'only a paladin' would have dashed after him, reckless of consequences. It may be admitted that if the illustrious Gaul had acted after that fashion he might, with the aid of the tribes revolted and revolting, have made it very unpleasant for Cæsar; might even, had there been unity in the Gaulish councils, have destroyed his army. But, shut up in Gergovia, Vercingetorix had, probably, but scanty

information as to the events occurring in other parts of Gaul, and he feared doubtless to compromise by a decisive battle the safety of the national cause. His conduct was that of a cautious, perhaps over-cautious, statesman rather than of a paladin. He gave time for the inevitable insurrection to break out rather than by too premature a movement to run the chance of a disaster which would have stifled it.

The double retreat of Cæsar and Labienus proved conclusively that all Gaul had risen. But with the rising of Gaul recommenced that contest for supremacy among the tribes which, seven years before, had so greatly facilitated the task of Cæsar. It had been the Ædui who had bartered their independence to dispossess their rivals. And, now that the success of Vercingetorix had regained the foremost place for the Arverni, it was the Ædui again who, the common oppressor still in their midst, began to intrigue to obtain it. The protracted siege of Gergovia had first come to shake the faith of the Ædui in the invincibility of the Romans; the retreat of Cæsar from before its walls had turned their doubt into a certainty. No sooner had the news of it reached them than their two chiefs, Eporedorix and Viridomarus, whom Cæsar had counted among his most trusted Gaulish friends, threw themselves upon Noviodunum, the place in which Cæsar had stored his supplies of corn, his treasure-chest, the baggage of the army, and a great part of his private baggage, and all his Gaulish hostages and spare horses; killed the weak Roman garrison and all the Romans found in the place, divided the booty, burned the town, and carried off the hostages to their chief town, Bibracté (Autun). Thence they and their colleagues despatched messengers to Vercingetorix, vaunting their 'glorious' exploit at Noviodunum, and requesting him to come to Bibracté, to arrange with them for the future conduct of the campaign.

Towards the end of May Vercingetorix quitted Gergovia for Bibracté, to respond to this call. There the very air smelt of war; every voice cried for the extermination of the Romans. At the head of the war-party were Eporedorix and Virido-

marus, and these chiefs had employed all the means they could employ to obtain from the several cities of Gaul and their deputies the nomination of themselves to the chief conduct of the campaign. They met Vercingetorix with a proposal to share with him the direction of the war. Convinced that success could be assured only by unity of command, Vercingetorix declined the proposed division. Upon this the Ædui threw off the mask and claimed the supreme direction. Vercingetorix replied that he had been chosen for the great work by the other tribes of Gaul, but that, allowing that choice to pass, he thought it would be well to convene there, at Bibracté, an assembly representative of all Gaul, so that one chief, with sole power to direct the war, might be elected. For himself, he was ready to serve loyally whomever they might elect. The Ædui, believing that such an assembly would confer upon them the coveted supremacy, accepted the proposal with alacrity, and summonses were at once despatched to convene at Bibracté a general assembly of the Gaulish nation.

To these summonses all the tribes, three only excepted, eagerly responded. The three exceptions were the Remi, not yet recovered from their fear of Cæsar, and the Lingones and Treviri, both engaged in deadly war with Germany. Practically, then, all Gaul was represented. This assembly unanimously conferred the chiefship upon Vercingetorix. The enthusiasm was tremendous. For a moment even the Ædui were carried away by it. But the awakening only increased their bitterness, and, dominated by petty jealousy rather than by patriotism, they despatched, secretly, an envoy to Cæsar to make renewed submission and ask pardon. Already, then, there were traitors in the Gaulish camp.

Vercingetorix, elected to supreme authority, began at once to mature his schemes for the enfranchisement of all Gaul. Even from the Romanised provinces, from Gallia Narbonensis, including Provincia and Massilia, he would expel the hated foreigner. Thither, in his distress, Cæsar had proceeded, and there it was necessary to seek him.

Directing, then, his tried comrade, Lucterius, to recommence, with the Cardurci and the Ruteni, his incursions into Provincia, Vercingetorix announces to the deputies of the several tribes assembled at Bibracté his intention of carrying on the war in the old fashion; that was, to fight no pitched battle, but, sacrificing the towns, the harvests, the houses, whilst hanging on the flanks of, and harassing the Roman army, to compel submission or at least the evacuation of the country. 'It is by the loss of your property,' he concluded, 'that you will obtain for ever independence and liberty.' To carry out this plan he set out with an army, increased by new levies, to 80,000 men, to seek Cæsar.

That great captain, meanwhile, after his junction with Labienus, had crossed the Yonne and hurried by forced marches towards Vesuntio (Besançon). He had with him an army numbering from 100,000 to 110,000 men—not a man too many, he felt, to combat a Gaul really united. Upon his line of march Vercingetorix, leaving Bibracté at the end of July, struck at the village of Senailly, twelve miles north of Semur (en Auxois) and ten from the camp of Cæsar, who was at Montréal-sur-Serrain. There the Gaul, establishing himself on both banks of the Armançon, began to put in practice the plan he had announced.

First, the better to distract the enemy, he divided his army into three camps or divisions. One, which he commanded in person, he posted on the little hill of Quincy, not far from the left bank of the Armançon. Another, composed entirely of cavalry, he placed on some heights about three miles distant, with orders to dash upon Cæsar should he attempt the passage of the river. The third he posted on the route from the heights just mentioned, those of Quincerot-les-Montbard to Saint-Remy, nearer to this last place and winding round to Rougemont. The situations were well chosen for the purpose for which they were designed, whilst they were too distant from each other to encourage an ambitious commander to risk a general action.

No long time was to elapse before Vercingetorix would

have the opportunity of testing the value of his combinations. The very next morning Cæsar crossed the Armançon just above Viserny, and marched along the right bank of the river, taking the route which is now the road from Semur to Montbard. As soon as his legions reached the plain between Quincy and the heights of Quincerot, two corps of Gaulish cavalry attacked them on both flanks, whilst a third barred to them the road to Saint-Remy. Cæsar promptly, as was his wont, makes dispositions to meet the emergency. Forming his cavalry into three divisions, he directs each upon a point of attack. The legions, meanwhile, halt whilst the baggage is brought into the centre of the column. The cavalry-fight now engages with great fury. So fiercely do the Gauls combat that in a short time the Romans, hard-pressed, fall back before them; some even take refuge in flight. Vainly, for long, does the great Cæsar use every effort to rally his men. He is, himself, in the most imminent danger. According to the legends which have reached us, he was actually being carried off a prisoner by a gigantic Gaul, when the giant, misinterpreting a cry of a comrade, released him. At any rate he was in the very jaws of defeat when his German cavalry, which he had despatched to make a turning movement, dashes on the almost denuded camp of Quincerot, drives from it the Gauls who guard it, then charging the rear of the Gaulish cavalry engaged with the Romans, spreads among them consternation and dismay. In a moment the fate of the battle is changed: the Romans gain heart; the Gauls lose it; and Cæsar gains his Marengo. But Vercingetorix, though the departure from the rule he had laid down, never to fight a pitched battle, has resulted badly for him, is no Melas. He holds his infantry in hand to serve as a *point d'appui* on which his defeated cavalry may rally. And they do so rally.

Hoping to make easy terms with the conqueror, the Ædui, three of whose chiefs had been taken prisoners or had surrendered, quit the Gaulish camp. Vercingetorix, still not despairing, posts his rallied cavalry at Genay, to cover his

retreat from a position which has become untenable. That night he marches to Alesia, the oppidum of the Mandubii, on the summit of Mont-Auxois, and there he awaits with calmness the inevitable approach of Cæsar.

Mont-Auxois is an isolated hill, in the plain called 'La Plaine des Laumes.' It has a height of 1,365 feet above the sea, though only 525 above the surrounding plain; the summit has the form of an ellipse, 2,275 yards in length and 870 broad at its greatest breadth. The plateau thus formed has an area of 1,520,000 square yards. Two rivulets, the Oze and the Ozerain, bathe the foot of the hill on two opposite sides. To the west extends the plain already named, of which the hill forms a projection; on all other sides, at distances ranging from 1,200 to 1,750 yards, are hills of nearly equal height. It will thus be seen that the position was not very strong, in no respect equal to that which the Gaulish chief had held successfully against Cæsar at Gergovia.

But Vercingetorix devoted at once all his energies to render the oppidum defensible. On the west of the plateau were some rocks which formed a strong natural defence. Constituting that point as his citadel, he established himself with the bulk of his army at the opposite or eastern extremity, towards which the ground sloped gently the whole way. From this eastern end he prolonged his camp in both directions, so that the northern and southern faces were equally guarded. To be secure against a surprise, Vercingetorix covered the entire curve occupied by his troops with a stone wall and ditch, the wall having narrow openings to admit of exit.

Before this position Cæsar appeared the afternoon of the day following that on which the Gauls had reached it. A short reconnaissance enabled him to decide upon a plan: he resolved to establish a rigorous blockade. With this object he formed camps round the hill, connected by twenty-three palisaded redoubts, the whole covered by a double ditch. M. Monnier informs us that this line of circumvallation, which is in the

form of the letter M reversed, has been discovered intact, thanks to the labours of a joint committee of military and scientific men appointed to investigate the subject. 'The lines of demarcation,' he writes, 'are visible, without interruption, as they were eighteen centuries ago, and as they will be two thousand years hence.'

Vercingetorix used all the means at his disposal to defeat the purpose of his enemy. The very next day the Gaulish horsemen, descending into the plain, attacked the Roman cavalry, compelled them to give way, and forced Cæsar to bring his legions and German horse to their support. Then, in their turn, the Gauls are broken, and endeavour in confusion to thread their way back through the apertures in the stone wall. But the Germans are upon them, and press them so hardly that for a moment the hope of taking the place then and there by assault flutters before the mind of Cæsar. But Vercingetorix sees the danger; closes the apertures; and thus, whilst holding fast to his position, forces the cavalry, still outside, to combat vigorously for their lives. This they do so successfully that the Germans in their turn fall back.

Meanwhile the popularity of Vercingetorix was waning. His want of success, and the secret hostility of the Ædui, were changing the tone of his followers. Alesia, too, was virtually an Æduan town, for the Mandubii were the faithful followers of the Ædui Every day made more apparent the decline of his influence. At Gergovia his very whisper had been obeyed: at Alesia his direct orders came to be disputed. Surveying, from the height of his position, the Roman works, hourly approaching completion, he began to despair. Of all that he had done and tried to do for Gaul what was there that remained? Nought but a half-mutinous army and a disaffected town. For himself he cared not, but the better part of the army must be saved for what might yet remain, after he had been sacrificed, of independent Gaul.

Full of such thoughts as these, the illustrious patriot drew up his cavalry, and telling them that he had provisions for the rest of the army for only thirty days, bade them depart,

each to his own town, there to incite every Gaul who could carry arms to enrol himself in a new army, which should advance rapidly and take the Roman lines in reverse. The Gauls set out that night, forced their way through the unfinished part of the Roman lines, after a fierce combat, of which Cæsar makes no mention, but the fact of which subsequent investigations have proved, and proceeded to carry out the orders of their chief. After their departure Vercingetorix continues to do all in his power, by repeated sorties, to harass the Romans.

It would take too long to describe the almost daily encounters between the besieged and the besiegers during the thirty days that followed the departure of the Gaulish cavalry. It must suffice to state that both parties displayed a fertility of resource, an energy, a power of overcoming difficulties, such as cannot fail to excite admiration. Cæsar was not at all over-confident. He knew that all Gaul was rising around him, and that unless he could subdue the obstacle in front of him his situation might again be full of danger. He had, therefore, whilst meeting the daily sallies of the besieged, thrown up behind his lines a wall covered by a ditch to check the relieving army. Vercingetorix, on his side, continued, despite the constant opposition of the Æduan nobles within the walls, to display those great qualities which had endeared him to the mass of his countrymen. He saw the ranks of the besiegers thinning daily, and he continued to hope much from the diversion he had directed.

Meanwhile, obedient to his summons, the Gauls were forming, at Bibracté, a relieving force formidable at least in numbers. Thither all the tribes, the Bellovaci excepted, sent large contingents, and even the Bellovaci sent 2,000 men. Cæsar states that the total number reached 8,000 horse and 240,000 foot. Unfortunately for the beleaguered chieftain the influence of the Ædui was supreme, and his two personal enemies, Eporedorix and Viridomarus, were elected to command the relieving army, which at length started in the direction of Alesia.

Meanwhile the thirty days had expired, and famine was beginning to add to the evils of the besieged. Nor, at this crisis, were their spirits buoyed up by any news from outside. They could learn nothing regarding that army on the approach of which all their hopes depended. It is on such occasions that the secret enemies of a commander-in-chief raise their heads to render his task all the more difficult. Such enemies were not wanting in Alesia, and, it need scarcely be added, that in the crude conceptions of all of them Vercingetorix was to figure as the scapegoat. At length, to stop the increasing discontent, an Arvernan noble, Critognatus by name, makes, if we may believe Cæsar, a proposition too revolting even for that age. He urges that the fighting men should eat those incapable of bearing arms. But though this proposal is rejected, a modification of it, conveying equally death to the non-combatants, is adopted. These unfortunates are driven from out the walls towards the Roman camp. Naturally Cæsar refuses to receive them, and they perish.

For the moment the famine is stayed. Hope again revives. It rises even to supreme confidence, when, as he was preparing one morning a new sortie, Vercingetorix, lifting his eyes towards the horizon, beholds the neighbouring hills covered with innumerable battalions, and more advancing from the rear. It is the army of United Gaul which has come to put an end to all their miseries. It takes a position on the hills of Venarey and of Mussy-la-Fosse, rather less than a mile from the Roman lines, and forms there its camp.

The next day the cavalry of this great army makes its first attack on the Roman lines, whilst the garrison support it by a sortie with all its strength. Both are baffled by the genius of Cæsar. It is true that at one moment he believed the battle lost, as he admits it ought to have been lost. But he is ubiquitous, his presence is always there where it is wanted, and in the end, by a skilful use of his German horsemen, he puts to flight the mass of warriors opposed to him. One great object he had before him ere the flight began, and that was to prevent any junction, any communication even,

between the relieving army and Vercingetorix. And, in the most skilful manner, notwithstanding the exigencies of the fight, he carries out this programme. Vainly does the Arvernan do all that skill and courage can do to cut his way through the Roman lines: he fails. A night attack, made without combination with the Gauls outside, after seeming to promise success, fails likewise. Then comes the third and most terrible combat of all. This it is necessary to describe in more detail.

Commanding a strong division of the relieving army was Vergasillaunus, cousin of Vercingetorix. This division comprised the Arverni and other of the most warlike of the Gaulish tribes, and numbered some 60,000. Vergasillaunus had noted that one portion of the Roman lines, that which descended to the banks of the Oze, was dominated by the crest known as the Réa, and that if he could only seize that crest and establish his troops there unseen by the Romans, he would probably be able to break through their defences and open communication with the garrison.

That same night he proceeded to put his plan into operation. At nine o'clock he quitted his camp without noise and marched northwards. After a time he turned sharply towards the western slope of the Réa, and, climbing, rested his men below the crest, that is, on the side further from the Romans. There he remained in ambush till midday: then emerges, crowns rapidly the crest, and dashes thence with fury on the Roman camp. Similarly the Gaulish cavalry advance and threaten anew the points they had attacked the day before, whilst the remainder of their infantry come on in array of battle. Vercingetorix, whose vigilance never slumbered, observes these movements from the oppidum, and, collecting his warriors, makes a fierce counter-attack on the lines of circumvallation. At last the decisive battle, the battle which will decide the fate of Gaul, is engaged. For some time it seemed as though Gaul would be victorious. Vergasillaunus carries all before him, forces the outer defences, and presses on till he reaches the foot of the Roman rampart. To fill up the ditch which covers this, he has brought with him sacks full of earth;

his men rapidly use these for that purpose ; then mounting on each other's shoulders, they climb on to the parapet : the Romans stationed there make but a feeble defence, and the rampart is gained.

Meanwhile Vercingetorix, who had directed his advance so as to give a hand to his cousin, whose purpose he had divined, seeing that he was able to carry it through unassisted, turned rapidly towards the heights on the other flank to co-operate with the other division of the Gaulish army, composed mainly of the Ædui and their allies. Could he help them to victory the day was gained. Success crowns the efforts of his followers. They, too, force the Roman defences, and gain on that side also the summit of the rampart. The battle is gained if only the centre division of the Gauls, that commanded by Eporedorix and Viridomarus and composed of the Ædui and their adherents, will display a similar daring. But alas ! the whisper of jealousy stifles the dictates of patriotism. The Æduan chiefs cannot forget, even at this supreme hour of their country's fortunes, that the triumph of Gaul would be the triumph of Vercingetorix, and they hold back their men. Cæsar notes their backwardness on the instant, and, seeing Vercingetorix, so to speak, in the air, despatches 2,500 men, followed, after a short interval, by 3,000 more, to dislodge him. Simultaneously he orders Labienus to march with six cohorts to drive back Vergasillaunus. But, despite the fierce efforts of the Romans, the two Gaulish chiefs hold their own. There is yet a chance of victory if the Ædui will but come on. But, as they still hold back, Labienus ventures upon a manœuvre which their inactivity alone makes possible for him. Sending a messenger to warn Cæsar of his intention, and asking him to support him by a flank attack on the enemy, he takes forty-one cohorts from their position fronting the Ædui, and launches them against the Gaul by a front attack, whilst Cæsar, conspicuous from his purple mantle, menaces his flank with four cohorts, similarly withdrawn, and half the Roman cavalry. Vainly does Vergasillaunus employ all the means at his disposal to repulse this double attack : fruitlessly

does he turn his eyes towards the serried Gaulish masses to which not even his danger can impart action. Assailed in front, in flank, in rear, combating against numbers ever increasing, completely isolated from the rest of the Gaulish army, he maintains, nevertheless, for some hours, a glorious resistance: chief after chief falls, but still his sword waves encouragingly to his men. Soon, however, but few of these remain to respond to his call. The death which he courts eludes him. Then the Romans rush in and after a short struggle force the survivors to surrender. Amongst these is Vergasillaunus.

Throughout this fight Vercingetorix had been engaged in holding his own position against repeated attacks. These attacks had been so far useful to Cæsar in that they had pinned the Gaulish chief to an isolated point, whence he was unable to despatch assistance to any menaced quarter. But he had not failed to notice every move in Cæsar's game. The moment then that he saw that the position of his cousin had been forced, fearing lest the next movement of the conqueror should be upon Alesia, left denuded of warriors, he returns himself to the town; then, as night approaches, slowly draws back his warriors. His last great effort to save his country had failed, less by reason of the genius of Cæsar, than of the jealousy and self-love of the other chiefs of Gaul, qualities which in modern days have been conspicuously manifest in the character of some of the most prominent of their descendants.

What, under the circumstances, was he to do? Mommsen, who is his severest critic, assures us that Hannibal, similarly situated, would have quitted Alesia that night, to have maintained the cause in another part of the country, and he calls the action of Vercingetorix in surrendering to the conqueror the action of 'a paladin, not of a hero.' It seems to me impossible to dispute the justice of this criticism. In the interests of the country for which Vercingetorix had done so much, it was better that he should live, free and still influential, than, by surrendering, to live only to adorn the triumph of Cæsar. Here again we find a remarkable instance of the special quality, or rather characteristic, of a people who have,

in modern days, declared themselves ready to go to war for an idea. For it was an idea only which prompted Vercingetorix to surrender.

During the night which followed his defeat he thought out the situation in all its bearings. Flight was feasible; the alternative was surrender. In a spirit of chivalrous exaltation he decided for the latter. He would sacrifice himself in the hope that such a sacrifice might procure better terms for his countrymen. Had he been in his right mind he must have known that to a conqueror who had not conquered for an idea but for very solid considerations, such a sacrifice would be vain. But it was the night after a lost battle, a night such as Napoleon had after Waterloo, when he multiplied all the difficulties of the situation and took no account of the battalions which had been saved. He knew himself to be surrounded by enemies; that even in the council of Alesia there was a majority who would rejoice to be rid of him. Few men, under such circumstances, can think or reason soundly. Vercingetorix was not an exception. He came to the decision to surrender, not directly to Cæsar, but to the Alesian council, who might make terms with Cæsar by sacrificing him. After curtly announcing his intention to its members, he added, 'You can give satisfaction to the Romans either by putting me to death yourselves, or by delivering me alive into their hands.' The council accepted the sacrifice, and sent at once to treat with Cæsar.

His doom thus sealed, Vercingetorix possessed too strongly the spirit of the Gaul to await the Roman lictors in his tent. Putting on his richest suit of armour, and girding himself with his favourite sword, the sword of Gergovia, he mounted his charger, splendidly caparisoned, and galloped direct to the camp of Cæsar. He found the great proconsul seated on his tribunal, in front of his army, surrounded by his lieutenants, his tribunes, and his centurions. Having caused his horse to make three circles, in accordance with the Gaulish custom, he laid down his arms at the feet of the astonished Cæsar, saying, 'To thee belong now these arms. Very brave, thou hast con-

quered the brave.' Then, drawing himself up to his full height, he awaited with dignity the answer of Cæsar. Cæsar was not equal to the occasion. Frederic never displayed more brutality to a general who had failed, nor Napoleon more rudeness to a queen who had solicited a favour he cared not to grant, than did the Roman master of legions to the captive Gaul. He loaded him with reproaches, accused him of base ingratitude, and ordered the lictors to disarm him, to place him in confinement, and load him with irons. Vercingetorix had thus failed, entirely by his own fault—for he had entirely misjudged the character of Cæsar—to realise even the smallest of the objects the hope of gaining which had prompted him to surrender.

With this incident concludes the career of Vercingetorix. Sent, after a brief space, to Rome, he was cast into a miserable dungeon in the Mamertine prison. There, deprived of light and air, the last national hero of Gaul passed upwards of five years. To him those years must have been a living death, a perpetual torture. During that time Cæsar completed the conquest of Gaul, and, subduing the supporters of the old order at home, became at last master of the State. Then, in the year 46, fresh from his victory over the last remnants of the Pompeian army at Thapsus, and appointed dictator for ten years, he thought the moment opportune to celebrate, in four magnificent triumphs, the victories he had gained over the Gauls and over his own countrymen. The first day was devoted to the celebration of the conquest of Gaul. Standing up in his triumphal car, bearing a laurel crown, and clothed in purple, the first of the Cæsars was drawn by four white horses along the Via Sacra. In front of the car, his hands loaded with irons, was a prisoner no longer recognisable as the brilliant chief who had once forced the conqueror to retreat. For a moment the glance of Cæsar rests on the form of his whilom enemy. Then, as if struck by a sudden impulse, he makes a sign to the executioners. These remove Vercingetorix, and in a few brief minutes the head is severed from the body of the man 'whose great crime it was'—to quote the eloquent words of M. Monnier—'to

have loved his country better than himself.' A great writer has said that, terribly cruel though Cæsar was, yet from bloodthirstiness he slaughtered none; all was done from policy. But surely, after Gaul was completely subdued, when Cæsar was absolute master at home, there was no policy in slaying an unarmed prisoner, bowed down and broken by nearly six years of solitary confinement. No; for the cause of the killing of Vercingetorix we must look to something entirely distinct from policy; we must look to the pride which could not forget, and would not forgive, the fact that this man had forced Cæsar to retreat! It is this fact, however, and the reflection that of all the Celtic chieftains Vercingetorix was the first to dream of a Gaul which should be entirely national and absolutely united, which have endeared his memory to the great, free, and united people who inhabit the country which he strove, with such noble ardour, to enfranchise. They believe, to quote again from M. Monnier, 'that with the progress of the human intellect the reputation of the conqueror will decrease in proportion as that of the conquered will increase;' that it will be recognised that whilst the one represents ambition and self-interest, the other is the type of patriotic devotion. 'After having inaugurated the great work of national unity, and having given to it the prestige of victory, he sealed it with his blood.' It is because he did these things, at a period of great national depression, that the descendants of the peoples who fought under him against Cæsar, and who are now but just recovering from a blow which wrested from them their two fairest provinces, are subscribing to erect, on the site of his greatest achievement, a bronze statue which shall keep for ever present in the minds of those who live now, and of those who may come after, the fact that the limits of Gaul, as Gaul was in the time of Cæsar, are not the limits of modern France; that it was for those limits that Vercingetorix strove, and, failing, died; and that to obtain them in the future, near or distant, no sacrifice can be too great, no burthen too heavy. The moral of the career of Vercingetorix is PATRIOTIC

DEVOTION. That is the sentiment which, it is hoped, the sight of the statue now about to be erected will foster and increase.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE, in proposing thanks to Colonel Malleson, said they had the subject discussed with all the advantages of historical treatment, and with the due development of the military and political considerations. These were exhibited in the living light of the author's experience in our Indian empire. Indeed, without such knowledge it was impossible adequately to appreciate the real events. By such a writer the Commentaries were originally drawn up, and the conclusion must be that the narrative of Cæsar was on the whole authentic and truthful, doing justice to his enemy. It was, as Colonel Malleson said, to the victor that we owed our knowledge of Vercingetorix, and it was equally to the Romans we owed our knowledge of Arminius. For his own part, his sympathies were no further enlisted for Vercingetorix than in his individual capacity and his individual character. Our sympathies would rather be attracted to our kinsmen, the Germans, then and afterwards. The German horse, it was well remarked, was the determining force on each occasion, the German horses coming most likely from the pastures of the north, still so well known for horse-breeding. The political treatment of Colonel Malleson brought forcibly to his mind that it was a mistake to suppose that there was then a well-developed Celtic nationality in Gaul. Even the distribution of Gaul by Cæsar into three great divisions did not necessarily imply this. The basis of the population must have been what he had described in his own papers on the Aquitanians and the Belgians. The Gauls were still pushing their invasion, and had largely superseded the many local languages by the Celtic language, but the prevalence of languages and of race did not necessarily correspond. Vercingetorix had to contend with this uncemented ethnological basis, and it may be that the actual condition of France is much more influenced by this state of affairs than historians have allowed. Vercingetorix found all the jealousies and rivalries of discordant chiefs and tribes, and there was no real national unity to which he could appeal, but only a common hostility to the foreigner to be relied upon as a ground of union. It was this absence of compactness of concord and of harmony which favoured Cæsar, and Colonel Malleson graphically described the incidents which baffled Vercingetorix and aided the Roman, as in similar examples in our own Indian history. The Gauls were no more a nation then than now the natives of India constitute a nation.

THE HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS OF THE HITTITES.

By Captain C. R. CONDER, R.E.

(*Read* June 1887.)

The subject for your consideration in the present paper is one which has recently attracted attention, and which is of necessity destined to arouse controversy. I do not desire to weary you with dry details which must be carefully investigated and verified, or to make any reply to adverse criticisms, which as yet have served to show that the most careful demonstration of every point in a new thesis is required by modern scholarship. There are three separate questions to be considered, each of which might demand a volume by itself, and each of which might be independently considered. First, who were the Hittites? What do we know about them, and what bearing has such knowledge on general questions of history and ethnology? Secondly, what are the hieroglyphic texts of Northern Syria and Asia Minor? Is there any reason to suppose that all or any of them are the work of Hittites? and how are they to be deciphered? Third, what bearing have the two preceding studies on the Old Testament historical notices of the Hittites? Do they serve to support the general historical accuracy of the Hebrew Scriptures, or the reverse? I propose to confine my remarks in this paper chiefly to the first of these questions. The second has less bearing on history, and requires a great amount of study yet to lead to a solution. As regards the third question, most writers appear to be convinced, as I for one am most firmly convinced, that the Hebrew account of the Hittites agrees in

a most remarkable manner with the monumental discoveries concerning this sturdy race.

First, then, as regards the question who were the Hittites, and what do we know about them? For nearly a quarter of a century the Egyptian scholars have been aware that there was in Northern Syria an important people who are called Kheta on the Egyptian monuments. In 1866 the French scholar Chabas drew up a very valuable monograph on the subject. The work of examining the hieroglyphic references to this people has gone on ever since. It has been found that among the mixed populations of Northern Syria who contended with the great Egyptian conquerors of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties these Kheta played a most important part. The pictures at Karnak, the record of the great campaign, yet earlier, in which Thothmes III. won the battle of Megiddo, on the southern confines of Galilee; the curious papyrus relating the travels of an Egyptian in Palestine in the time of Rameses II., and other records, give us information as to the physical appearance and dress, language, religion, laws and customs of the Kheta, as to their political condition, civilisation, and warlike character, which is of the highest value. From these records, including lists of kings and of towns in the Hittite country, the Kheta are now almost as well known as Assyrians or Egyptians.

I may perhaps be allowed to say that I have studied these records for the last seven years in connection with the antiquities of Palestine, and all knowledge which I could gather from the best standard works and through correspondence with every scholar interested in the matter I have gradually amassed ever since 1880. In 1881 I made a special expedition into Northern Syria, with the object of discovering the site of the great city of Kadesh, the southern capital of the Kheta, and I believe that I was so fortunate as to find this long-lost fortress just where it is described to have stood by the court poet of Rameses II. The discovery, like all other discoveries, was called in question, but during the present year I have found it accepted in every work I have read on the Kheta or

on Palestine. Indeed, since the old name Kadesh still lingers at the site, since the Orontes still runs round it, as on the Egyptian picture, and since the historical references can be traced back through the Middle Ages and earlier, the identification of Kadesh seems to be demonstrated as clearly as such a topographical discovery is capable of being at so remote a period and from such scanty materials.

Turning from the Egyptian records to those of Mesopotamia, the discoveries of scholars have only of late years been put together in intelligible fashion by Professor Sayce. There are earlier students, but the writings of this scholar since 1880 have been the chief means of bringing out the fact that the Assyrians, pushing westwards over the Euphrates in the twelfth century B.C. and down to 717 B.C., came into collision in Northern Syria with the Khatti, a warlike people whose capital was at Carchemish—identified in a satisfactory manner with the ruins of Jerablus; the older conjecture, which fixed on Membij as the site, not being found to agree as well with the circumstances regarding Carchemish.

All those whose opinion is of authority have recognised, both in England and abroad, that the Khatti must have been the same people as the Kheta. This has, of course, been called in question, but the objection is not based, I think, on any solid ground. There remains the question whether the Kheta and Khatti are the Beni Kheth of the Bible. As to this, also, I believe there is no reason for hesitation. The words are radically the same; the land of the Hittites in the Bible is the same land—Northern Syria; and the earlier notice in Genesis of Hittites in Southern Palestine is not contradicted by any known monumental fact. The opinion of antiquarians generally favours the view that the Kheta, Khatti, and Hittites were all one and the same, and lived in the same country. This opinion is based on numerous facts, and I for one hold it to be demonstrated.

I proceed, then, to consider what we know of the Hittites from the sources in question; and first, as regards their personal appearance. We know how carefully the character-

istics of race are distinguished in Egyptian paintings, and we have pictures at Karnak which give us real portraits of the Hittites. The first thing which has struck all those who have seen the originals or the beautiful reproductions by Rosellini seems to be the Tatar-like aspect of the heads. The complexion is represented as lighter than that of the Semitic allies; the faces are beardless, with a thin moustache like that of Mongols or Chinese; and the heads, which are partly shaven, have black hair, with a pigtail, like a Chinese pigtail, behind. And, indeed, I think that anyone looking at the pictures in question would at once say, 'These people are Tatars or Chinese.'

The hairless faces of the Kheta distinguish them in a remarkable manner from the Semitic races as represented on the monuments. Indeed, to the Semitic people the beard has always been extremely honourable, and is so to the present day. When we find princes or deities represented without beards, the presumption is in favour of such representations being non-Semitic.

The physiognomy of the Hittites not only gives rough evidence of their Turanian origin, but it also serves to connect them with other peoples. Thus in Cappadocia the sculptures representing gods or kings give us the same type of hairless face. Dr. Isaac Taylor, who proved in 1874 that the great Etruscan race in Italy were a Turanian people closely resembling in language the Finnic family, has remarked on the sturdy figures, the high cheek-bones and oblique eyes, the black hair of the head, the hairless faces of Etruscan warriors, and has shown that these peculiarities connect them with the Mongols. The figure of an Etruscan was of the same build as that of a Cappadocian on the monuments—very different from the wiry, hook-nosed, bearded Semitic people of our own days.

Two curious peculiarities of dress—the tiara and the boot—which distinguish the Hittites were, I believe, first pointed out by Professor Sayce. The boot or shoe of the Hittite is the same now used by the peasantry of Asia Minor, and even of

Palestine. It is what we call a Turkish slipper with a curled-up toe. Professor Sayce points it out in Cappadocia, and finds it on the Hittite figures at Karnak. To this it may be added that what the Romans called the 'Calceus Repandus' seems to have been the same, and that it was of Etruscan origin; so that the so-called Hittite boot again links the Etruscans, Cappadocians, and Hittites with the existing peasantry of Asia Minor. As regards the tiara—a sort of long 'fool's cap,' such as dunces used to wear at school—it is not unlike, in some of its varieties, the crown of Upper Egypt. It also recalls the tiara of the Magi on monuments. It is found in Cappadocia, and the Dervishes of Syria to our own times wear just such a head-dress. The female figures in Cappadocia have a sort of cylindrical bonnet of similar character, which is still worn by peasant women in Bethlehem, and is something like the monk's head-dress in the Greek Church.

These indications are sufficient to make us look to the Turanian races for further information concerning the Hittites. It is hardly necessary to remind you what is meant by the term. Max Müller's 'Science of Language' is now a quarter of a century old, and it is the text-book for any who would understand aright the relationship of Asiatic races. In this standard work, you will remember, two great divisions of the Turanian race are mentioned—the South Turanian, embracing sixty-five languages now spoken; the North Turanian, fifty-one languages still living: making a total of 116, as against his enumeration of thirty-eight Aryan languages and the small group of eight Semitic tongues. Now out of this enormous number of over one hundred languages, the oldest known dialects of Mesopotamia and Media are (we are told) closely comparable to only two groups. The Akkadian and Proto-Medic have been considered by Lenormant, and by later scholars, to present affinities mainly to the Finnic, but also in some respects to the Turkic languages. I think it will be allowed that, in considering the old languages of Asia Minor and Media, we may put aside as not likely to be of great service the Tamil and other South Turanian tongues. They are languages of

the Malays, the Indians, and the Himalayans, and represent the southern migration of the Turanians.

The countries nearest to Asia Minor are the countries whose ancient languages we naturally first should study. Akkadian is known (though imperfectly) as it existed, say, in the time of Abraham, more than 2000 B.C., and it has even been called the Sanskrit of the Turanian or Altaic languages.

Proto-Medic is only known, I believe, after the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, but by grammar and vocabulary is closely related, Lenormant says, to Akkadian. If we were to select, say, Tamil as a proper language to study in connection with the earliest dialects of Asia Minor, it would be as though we relied on English rather than on Sanskrit in studying the older Aryan languages of the times after the Aryans left their Asiatic home.

It is for this reason that Akkadian seems evidently the most natural basis for comparison in case of a Turanian population of early date in Western Asia, and the name lists of the Hittites at least belong to a period when Akkadian was hardly extinct. What, then, is Akkadian? It is the old language of the 'mountaineers'—as the word means—who spread southwards from the region near Ararat into Mesopotamia. It is not as yet a very well known language. The pronunciation of even half its original roots, as occurring on the cuneiform inscriptions, is said by some to be unknown. This much, however, has been ascertained through the comparative labours of Lenormant and of those who have carried on his work. It is known that Akkadian is an early agglutinative language—that is to say, one which has passed beyond the first monosyllabic stage and has come to use grammatical attached syllables as well as roots standing for nouns and verbs. It is also known that Akkadian presents near relationship to the Finnic and more remote relationship to the Turkic groups of the Ugro-Altaic family.

Whereas the oldest Chinese represents, as stated by Max Müller, language in almost its earliest form, of roots each a monosyllable tacked together and distinguished as 'full' and

'empty,' to the west of China the languages grouped as Ugro-Altaic are more advanced, the weak roots becoming parts of speech tacked on to the noun and verb roots. The name Ugric, derived from Uigur or Ogre, refers to the Hungarian Ostiak and Vogul peoples ; Ugro-Altaic designates what the Greeks called Scythic populations, descending from the Altai mountains into Media or moving westwards over Russia. These Ugro-Altaic languages are divided into five families—Tungusic, Mongolic, Samoyedic, Turkic, and Finnic ; and out of these Akkadian, as before stated, is said to be nearest to the Finnic in the opinion of Lenormant, of Professor de Lacouperie, and of others.

The Finnic group, again, comprises four main divisions—Chudic, Bulgaric, Permic, and Ugric, according to the classification of Max Müller and of Dr. Taylor.

The most civilised language of the Chudic group is that of the Finns, or, as they call themselves, Suomalainen, 'fen dwellers.'—a word said by Lenormant to be the same as Sumerian, the term which applied to the old Altaic dwellers in the Euphrates Valley as distinguished from the Akkadians or 'mountaineers.'

There is perhaps a good reason why Finnic languages should be nearer to Akkadian than any other. Civilised languages are much more permanent than those of rude tribes. Dialects change rapidly, but literary languages slowly. The Akkadians were a literary people ; the Finns have produced in the 'Kalevala'—the Turanian Iliad—an epic which is of primary importance to the student of Akkadian and even of Egyptian mythology. But, in addition to the preservation of a standard by such literature, it must be remembered that the Altaic languages all appear to have changed slowly. The old monosyllabic roots of Akkadian have been found to occur in very many modern dialects, not only Finnic or Turkic but even Mongolic, and some are said to be clearly recognisable in Chinese.

Taking Akkadian as the oldest known Altaic language, it is remarkable that affinities have been traced even in Etrus-

can. There are at least forty or fifty known Etruscan words which appear identical with Akkadian words, and had we a more extended knowledge of these languages we might perhaps find many more. The grammar of Akkadian and Etruscan, moreover, so far as it is possible to compare these languages, seems very closely similar; and this grammar distinguishes the old tongues from the modern languages, Finnic or Turkic.

Now it has been recognised by Lenormant that there was a series of Turanian populations, stretching across Asia Minor in early times from Media to Lycia and Caria, existing in Lydia and Cappadocia, and akin, in his opinion, to the Akkadians. It is also stated by some ancient writers that the Carians and Lycians were closely related to the Etruscans, and a continuous chain is in this case established connecting Etruria with Chaldea and with Media. The evidence collected by Professor Sayce connects the tribes of Cappadocia, the Lycians and the Carians, with the Hittites, and if it be admitted that the Hittites were Altaic—which seems of late to have been recognised by several authorities as possible—it becomes, I think, clear that they must probably have formed only one link in this population of tribes which are independently said to have spoken languages akin to that ancient tongue generally known as Akkadian.

For these reasons I have for several years devoted attention to obtaining a general acquaintance with the statements of Lenormant and of other authorities as to the structure and vocabulary of the Akkadian, and the results have been to my mind very striking. We have, as before stated, twenty-five royal Hittite names mentioned in Egyptian hieroglyphic or hieratic texts; and though there may be slight differences of opinion as to the pronunciation of some syllables, practically these are deciphered. In these names I believe we may see fifteen Akkadian words recurring, and three which are Etruscan and Akkadian also. Tur, Sar, Nazi, Essepu, or Esseb, for instance, are said to have been Akkadian names for chief or prince. Tar, Sar, Nazi, Essebu are sounds occurring in

Hittite names of kings. I have given a table showing this comparison, and showing in some cases how the words run through existing languages as well.

If we turn from proper names to geographical terms, we find no longer words for king or chief, but geographical sounds.

The Egyptian lists of places conquered in Northern Syria and Asia Minor include the names of some 200 towns Here, constantly recurring in different combinations, we have, I believe, the Akkadian and Etruscan words for 'country,' 'hill,' 'river,' 'fortress,' 'house,' 'desert,' and, I think, also for 'tree,' 'camp' and 'field,' 'circle' and 'palace.'

Hittite Words.

Names of Kings.

1. *Tar.*—Compare Proto-Medic tar, 'chief;' Akkadian tar, 'to judge;' tur and dur, 'prince;' Turkish tura, 'chief;' Esthonian tara, 'god;' Akkadian dara = 'god Ea.'
2. *Tarka, tarku, tarkon, tarkhu.*—Compare Akkadian cu, khu, kha, khan, khun, ak, uk, for 'prince;' Siberian tar-khan, 'chief;' Etruscan tar-kun, 'prince;' Tatar kan, 'prince;' Turkish khan, 'prince;' Chinese kiun, 'prince;' koue, 'kingdom Proto-Medic ku, 'king;' kumas, 'royalty;' Akkadian 'high;' uk, 'man;' ak, 'male;' cu, 'man;' &c
3. *Sar.*—Compare Akkadian sar, 'prince.'
4. *Tur.*—Compare Akkadian tur or dur, 'prince.'
5. *Tatar* or *Tiatar.*—Compare the word Tatar.
6. *Totar* or *Dutar.*—See the preceding. Du in Akkadian prefixed = 'make,' or 'go,' or 'become.'
7. *Isebu.*—Compare Akkadian essepu, ispu, or esseb, 'prince;' compare No. 11, Akkadian sib, 'prince.'
8. *Tas.*—Compare Akkadian tus, tassak, tusgar, tassi, 'prince' and 'hero;' and tas, 'to contend.'
9. *Senna.*—Etruscan senna, 'man;' Ugric sena, 'man;' Proto-Medic shun, 'royal' (in shunki and shunkuk); Akkadian sul, 'hero' (?).
10. *Lar.*—Etruscan lar, 'chief;' Akkadian lul and rar, 'king.'
11. *Sap.*—Susian sap and sib, compare Akkadian sib, 'king.'
12. *Lab.*—Akkadian lab, lib, 'king' or 'hero,' or 'brave.'
13. *Ak.*—Akkadian ak, 'king,' or 'male;' and uk, 'king.'

14. *Mas.*—Akkadian mas, 'soldier.'
15. *Nazi.*—Akkadian nazi, Susian nazi, 'prince.'

Topographical Words.

16. *Ma.*—Compare Finnic ma, 'country;' Akkadian and Proto-Medic ma, 'country;' also ma = ua, 'house.'
17. *A.*—Akkadian a, 'water.'
18. *Ab* or *Ap.*—Compare Akkadian ab or up, 'abode' and 'district;' Proto-Medic up, 'city;' Turkish ev, 'house.'
19. *Ai.*—'Mound' or 'house,' Akkadian ai and e.
20. *Air, ail, ar, aur.*—Akkadian ir, eri, alu, uru, 'city;' Tatar aul, 'camp.' Primary root, ru, 'to found.'
21. *Atir.*—Etruscan ater, 'hall;' Akkadian tir, 'seat.'
22. *Amar.*—Akkadian amar, 'circle,' 'enclosure.'
23. *Au, aun.*—Proto-Medic eva, 'house;' Akkadian e and ua or ma, 'house;' Finnic huon, 'house;' Turkic ev, 'house;' Tscherkes unneh, 'house;' Wogul inn, 'house;' Akkadian un, unu, 'city.'
24. *Ban.*—Etruscan phanu, 'fane;' Akkadian ba, 'shrine;' pin, 'city.'
25. *Bek, bag.*—Akkadian ubigi, 'shrine;' Proto-Medic Buk-ti, 'shrine.'
26. *Bil, pil, pal.*—Etruscan falæ, 'hills;' Ostiak pil, 'hill;' Akkadian par, 'heap.'
27. *Bur.*—Akkadian bur, 'mound;' bur-bur, 'mountain.'
28. *Kab, kip.*—Finnic kip, 'hill;' Akkadian gubba, 'mound.'
29. *Kan, gan, gin.*—Akkadian gan, gin, gun, 'enclosure.'
30. *Kati.*—Proto-Medic kat, 'place.'
31. *Gar, kar, kir.*—Akkadian kar, kir, khir, gir, 'fortress;' Etruscan cære, 'town;' Wotiak and Zirianian kar, 'town.'
32. *Kaz, kiz.*—Akkadian giz or ges, 'tree,' 'wood.'
33. *Khar.*—Akkadian khar, 'mountain' (Lenormant).
34. *Maur, mur.*—Akkadian mur, 'brick,' 'stone,' 'clay.'
35. *Nim, nema.*—Akkadian nim, 'high;' num-ma, 'highland.
36 *Ped, pata*—Akkadian bat, 'fortress.'
37. *Ria, aria, re.*—Akkadian ra, 'to flood;' ria, 'flow;' aria, 'river.'
38. *Sak, sek.*—Akkadian sek, 'summit;' sak or sag, 'head.'
39. *Tar, tur, turi.* Akkadian tur, 'abode;' Ugric tur, 'stand;' Akkadian tir, 'seat' or 'place;' Turkic tura 'tent' or village.'
40. *Tha* or *Ta.*—Ta, tai, Ugric, 'mountain;' Etruscan te, 'mountain;' affixed as in Hittite.

41. *Tascnu.* Perhaps Etruscan thesan, 'sunrise,' *i.e.* East.
42. *Thep, tub.*—Finnic typä ; Mongol dobo ; Turkic tepe ; Etruscan tepa, all mean 'hill.'
43. *Zak, zakal, zagar.*—Akkadian zak, zik, 'house' or 'high place ;' zicara, 'high.'
44. *Thuka.*—Compare duk, 'building,' tak, 'stone' or 'brick,' in Akkadian.
45. *Zain.*—Akkadian zin, 'desert.'

The Akkadian words in this list are given by Delitszch and Lenormant. The Etruscan and other comparisons are mainly from Dr. Taylor's 'Etruscan Researches.'

I am of course aware that there are great differences of opinion among cuneiform scholars as to many of these words, so that reliance is rather to be placed on comparisons less subject to dispute ; but it seems to me that by such comparison, and checking the words by their existence in Finnic dialects of later times, and considering the combinations, such as 'round top,' 'prince's house,' 'hill town,' &c., there is some ground for the conclusion that the language of Northern Syria must have been akin to that of the Altaic populations of Media and of Chaldea. The question is worthy of much more study than I have as yet been able to give it, and would require some time to work out finally ; but the evidence is already sufficient, I think, to show that the comparison is not unscientific. And when we consider how hopeless it is to extract out of the majority of these names any proper Semitic topographical derivation the contrast is striking. Scholars all agree, apparently, that these names are not Aryan nor Semitic, and if our comparison is limited to the study of the oldest languages we have nothing really left but Altaic dialects. For of the Georgian it may be observed that it belongs to a group of unclassed dialects of the Caucasus which are inflexional, and which, in the case at least of Georgian, have already, I understand, been perceived to have affinities to the Proto-Medic, an acknowledged Altaic tongue ; and there seems some ground for thinking that a comparison with older agglutinative languages is preferable to that with modern inflexional ones.

We know something about the Hittite religion from Egyptian monuments. Their treaties were confirmed by invocation of their gods. These gods are local and connected with the phenomena of nature. Set, Istar, the mountains, the rivers, the wind, the sea, and the clouds are invoked. We do not recognise any artificial pantheon, but that early belief, called Animistic, which is common probably to all Altaic races. As regards Set, he is recognised to be the same as the Egyptian Set, and is called 'King of Heaven.'

Among the Etruscans we have a god called Seth-lans, the latter syllable meaning 'God:' and not impossibly Seth might be the same as the Hittite Set. Seth, Dr. Taylor shows to mean 'fire,' and in Egypt the colour of Set was red. The Etruscan god answered to Vulcan. The name also appears in Egyptian as Sutech with a guttural ending, just as we have 'nit' and 'nitakh' both for 'male' in Akkadian; but Chabas has shown the existence of the simpler form. Lenormant connects an Assyrian god Shita with Set. As regards Istar, she is no doubt the mother goddess represented alike in Syria, in Asia Minor, and in Babylonia. Whatever be the true origin of the name, the adoration of this goddess connects the Hittites more or less with Babylonia.

The Cappadocian monuments tell a similar tale. In general character the deities recall those of Mesopotamia. We find, for instance, the winged Sun represented in Cappadocia Further west, at Ibreez, the gigantic figure of a god wears a horned head-dress like that of Ea. The lion-headed Nirgal has also been found quite recently represented in Asia Minor. It seems to me that there is already evidence to show that the religion of the Hittites may have been akin to that of both Akkadians and Etruscans. In Cappadocia one deity holds a two-headed axe; and though too much reliance must not be placed on such resemblances, it is worthy of notice that the Etruscan Vulcan on one of the mirrors carries the same axe, which may be compared with Thor's hammer.

There is a great deal of information to be collected from classic and other sources concerning the local gods of Asia

Minor. The god Tar or Tarku, for instance, mentioned by Professor Sayce, recalls the Esthonian word Tara for 'God,' and the name Dara for the god Ea.

Possibly some of the Phœnician deities whose names cannot be easily rendered as Semitic words are Turanian, and may have been originally Hittite. Tammuz, Nirgal, and Istar (under the Semitic form Ashtoreth) were Akkadian deities adored in Phœnicia. Such a god as Baal Sillik suggests the Akkadian deities Silik-mulu-khi, 'doer of good to men' (as Lenormant renders it), and Silik-ma, 'preserver of the land,' according to Professor Sayce's translation. There are a good many other instances among the inscriptions in the great 'Corpus' of Semitic texts which Renan has not rendered as Semitic.

The evidence of physical character, language, and religion thus seems to agree in showing the possibly Altaic origin of the Hittites. Such evidence is cumulative, and, even after allowing for many errors, it seems to me that a solid body of evidence must be left which will lead us to conclusions resting on independent and accordant facts. The study of the Hittite religion is specially important. We have many acknowledged portraits of their gods and some names of the same, and as we know a good deal about the mythology of Akkadians, Egyptians, Finns, and Etruscans, and something about the mythology of Phrygia and other parts of Asia Minor, the comparative study is not difficult.

The civilisation of the Kheta in the fourteenth century B.C. was very far advanced. They were ruled by kings whose daughters the Pharaohs were not ashamed to wed. They possessed fortresses, chariots, works of art in metal and in stone. They had scribes, skilled workmen, and slaves. Their armies included Semitic subjects; they concluded treaties of extradition and for offensive and defensive purposes, and seem to have represented the chief power in the north of Syria. Many people are sceptical about a Hittite empire; but, that alliances between various princes of the Hittites and kindred tribes for the purpose of withstanding Egyptian

conquests were made is matter of history; and it is possible that some permanent confederation of the chiefs of Kadesh, Aleppo, Carchemish, and other important places may have then existed.

A people who could stipulate for the extradition of criminals, for the protection of their own subjects, 'skilled workmen,' in foreign lands, who admitted foreign workmen, and gave up foreign criminals, and who forbade the punishment of a family for the fault of an individual, were not mere barbarous warriors. All these stipulations occur in the famous treaty between the Hittite king and Rameses II.

The use of chariots and horses by the Hittites is of interest historically and ethnically. It has been noted that the horse is not a sacred animal, in early times, in Egypt; whereas among Babylonians, Phœnicians, and other Asiatic peoples Pegasus is a recognised sacred symbol. It has been argued from this, and from other indications, that the horse was introduced within historic times into Egypt; and, indeed, the conquests of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties have been attributed to a new use of chariots, not before employed in war. The Akkadians called the horse 'beast from the East;' and the home of the horse, in fact, is in the uplands of Central Asia. The Turkomans and Tatars of our own days are among the most celebrated horsemen in the world; and with the westward spread of Altaic tribes the horse seems to have reached Syria and Chaldea.

I may note in passing that the chariots were very splendid, being plated with gold and silver. The use of such chariots in Syria is traced down to the times of the Byzantine Empire, and gold and silver chariots in Rome recall the plated ox carriages of Indian princes, such as the one recently exhibited in the Indian gallery of the Colonial Exhibition.

The Hittites appear, as Professor Sayce has pointed out, to have been great workers in metal. This does not distinguish them from others, but is, perhaps, rather a question of date. Homer describes the adornment of palaces and temples with precious metals among the Greeks of the earlier period.

Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, Solomon in Jerusalem, lined their temples with gold. The Hittites had silver pillars, gold statues, and engraved their treaty on a silver plate. They appear also to have possessed works of art in bronze, such as are mentioned among the spoils taken by Thothmes III.

This again recalls the Akkadians, who not only knew the precious metals, but also, as we see clearly from an Akkadian inscription, were acquainted with bronze, and perhaps with other alloys.

The bronzes of the Etruscans are equally famous; and the Phœnicians very early possessed works of art, arms, &c., in this beautiful metal. The art of cutting in stone, and of making seals in hard stones, was early practised among Hittites, Phœnicians, Akkadians, Cappadocians, and Lydians, and from such seals and signets much valuable information is derived. Gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, bronze, diamond, lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones have Akkadian names; and the love of colour was common to Egyptians and Etruscans, and to the early races of Asia Minor whose temples were painted. Among Akkadians we have many known words for different colours.

I now turn to the second question—that of the hieroglyphic texts of Northern Syria and Asia Minor, popularly ascribed to the Hittites. I do not propose to speak of anything but the broad general principles of their study—those principles which cannot, I believe, be called in question. As regards the details, all I can say is, that I have been careful to state that any suggestions of mine are put forward tentatively, and I am, I hope, willing to be instructed by competent scholars; but at the same time I have not omitted to study to the best of my ability the works of those who are generally quoted as having done most to advance comparative study of Akkadian and of cognate languages.

The first question is, Can these texts be really Hittite? We shall be able, I think, independently to establish the language which the Hittites spoke, as before explained. We know that the Hittites had scribes, and that the majority of

the texts in question came from the Hittite country. If, then, it can be established that the language of the texts is an agglutinative Altaic tongue, more or less comparable to Akkadian, there will be no possibility of avoiding the conclusion that the majority of the texts may rightly be called Hittite.

Let us consider for a moment what the probabilities are. It may be laid down as an established fact that language and writing grow side by side. Each linguistic stage has its corresponding method of recording words. The earliest state of language gives us monosyllabic roots for nouns or verbs. Chinese has hardly, we may say, got much beyond this stage. The earliest human attempts at recording events took the evident form of rude designs like those of Red Indians, of European Cavemen, or of the Bushmen, whose pictures I have seen in South Africa.

Gradually language advances to the agglutinative stage, and becomes able to express singular and plural, the pronouns, the cases, and the moods of verbs, by particles, which originally were nouns, but which have now become abstract ideas. What was at first 'many' becomes the plural; 'male' or 'man' becomes 'he;' 'inside' becomes 'in;' and so on. To this stage, when the roots of nouns or verbs are still distinct and unchanged, a hieroglyphic system naturally belongs. The old sign for 'many'—a series of strokes—becomes the plural; the old sign for 'male' becomes the sign for 'he;' the old sketch of a door serves for 'in.'

But another step is taken when an existing hieroglyphic system recommends itself to a people speaking another language. The sign then gets two values—one its picture value, the other its sound value. If the grammar of the two languages is the same, it might be possible to read any text equally well in either language if written in pictures or in hieroglyphics. But suppose the grammars differ; suppose one says, 'I kill him,' the other, 'I him kill' or 'him I kill'—and in such distinctions we are told the safest test of language is to be found—then it becomes impossible to know how to read the text unless the language is certain.

This difficulty was met by the Semitic peoples in cuneiform by having a double system—a picture to explain put beside the sound ; just as the Chinese put two words together having the same meaning, in order that it may be clear which meaning out of many each syllable bears.

This same double system occurs in Egypt, and perhaps even in Egypt it arose from the fact that there were two or three languages known, which it was necessary to distinguish. Thus, when the Egyptian drew a cat beside the syllable *mau*, or a sheep beside another emblem *ba*, there remained only one reading and one meaning possible, and only in one language would the two agree. In the oldest form of writing the cat or the sheep alone would have occurred, and so long as there was only one language known, these signs would suffice.

We need only glance at the later stages. As inflexions began to appear in language the hieroglyphics were replaced by syllables. A picture of a man was enough as long as you had only the words *mans* for plural and *manly* for adjective ; but how could the picture express the words *man* and *men* ? It became necessary, then, to use two signs, *me* and *en*, *me-en* spelling men. Hence came syllabaries, which were formed by using the old hieroglyphics, or rather using a selection from among them, to express syllables. By this time the old pictures had become so conventionalised that it is not always easy to see what they were originally meant to represent. The syllabary was a clumsy contrivance. It required the use of at least five times as many signs as an alphabet ; but just as the language also was not yet developed to the fullest extent, so also the idea of an alphabet—an idea yet more abstract than that of a syllabary—was not yet conceived.

The most perfect stage of language is said to be that of the Semitic tongues, and hence very naturally the Phœnicians —the Semitic Phœnicians, that is to say, not the older Turanian race in the same country—conceived a system which fitted their language, and by selecting from the sylla-

baries about one sign in four or five at last produced the alphabet.

If we are confronted, therefore, by texts which have on them true pictures—heads of kings, or of beasts, or birds, &c.—we know at once that we have to deal not with letters or even with syllables, but with hieroglyphics; and we also see that we have to deal not with a highly developed language like Hebrew, not with an inflexional language like the Aryan tongues, but with an agglutinative tongue. If we find traces of signs for the plural or for any such abstractions, we know that it is not a mere picture-writing which we must consider. Pictures might be read without knowing a word of the language spoken by the artist. The existence of signs somewhat conventionalised, scattered among the heads of beasts, &c., shows us grammar—grammar of some particular language; and once this grammar is recognised to exist the arrangement of the signs may show us roughly what the language is. Then comes the question, Is it a double system like Egyptian or like the later cuneiform, or is it a single system without what are called 'determinatives;' that is to say, pictures to check the pronunciation of the sounds?

Studying the Hittite texts on these broad principles, which I do not think any scholar will call in question, we find two things. First, that there were evidently grammatical signs—it was not pure picture-writing. This Professor Sayce has already recognised. Secondly, the celebrated bilingual, which Professor Sayce was the first to recognise as such, shows that there was no double system at all events in that case. The language was then a native language of the countries where the texts occur, and the language was agglutinative. Guided, therefore, by the independent determination above explained of the fact that the Hittites were a Turanian people, we may conclude that the language of the texts was also perhaps Turanian.

Now the conclusion so reached, not by a mere assumption but inductively, has been admitted to be possible by many

whose opinion is of value. But if we have to deal with a Turanian system of hieroglyphics it does not, of course, follow that Akkadian is the key to understanding the sounds. Let us go back, however, to the bilingual. It consists of only five words—Tarkutimme, king, land, Er-me. They follow in the order given. First the proper name, then the title, then the two genitives. This is the Akkadian grammatical order. The genitive in Chinese or in Proto-Medic, according to Max Müller and Lenormant, comes usually before the nominative ; but in Akkadian the order is, *Singasid*, *lugal*, *unug*. 'Singasid, king of Uruk.' Not only is the order the same—viz. proper name, title, genitive—but the fact that there is no particle to represent the genitive is also an indication of a very early linguistic condition both on the bilingual boss above mentioned, and also in the Akkadian text in question. There is nothing, then, in the grammar of the bilingual to forbid a comparison with Akkadian. But there is, perhaps, a great deal more to be got out of the bilingual than this by aid of what are now, I believe, accepted facts. The Cypriote syllabary is to the Hittite hieroglyph as the hieratic is to the Egyptian hieroglyph ; it is the conventional emblem produced by generations of hasty writers, sketching more and more roughly the original picture, until the original idea is almost lost.

The explanation I have offered of the sounds on the bilingual is disputed, but I do not feel certain that it may not be finally received. The Cypriote gave the sound *ku* for the emblem shown by Professor Sayce to stand for 'king ;' and the sound *mi* (though I think the Cypriote sound is more probably *me* or *ma*, which I will not stop to explain) for the emblem which Professor Sayce shows to mean 'country.' *Ku* is Akkadian for 'king,' and *ma* is Akkadian for 'country,' according at least to Lenormant, and Delitszch. If so, the words as well as the grammar of the bilingual are Akkadian.

Now the objection made to this proposal is as follows : *ku* is not Akkadian for 'king,' *ma* is not Akkadian for 'country ;' the words should be *anin* and *mat*. This is, no doubt, very formidable. *Anin is* a word for 'king,' and *mat is* a word

for 'country.' Of this there is no doubt apparently in the minds of any scholars; and Lenormant, who gives *ku* for 'king' and *ma* for 'country,' gives also *anin* for 'king,' *mat* and *murun* for 'country.' For because we say in English, Monarch, Sovereign, Ruler, that does not prevent our saying King; because we say Region, Country, District, that does not prevent our saying Land. Improvements in the study of Akkadian are constantly being made, and many words once supposed by great scholars to have been established are now differently read by the same scholars or by their successors. It cannot be denied that a certain emblem which is known to stand for 'king' is also known to have had the sound *ku*, and so for the rest. But the question is, Is it to be given this sound *ku* when it is rendered 'king'? The question is, in fact, Was there an old Akkadian word *ku* for 'king'? Now, I am only comparing sounds determined by great scholars with words which great scholars say mean certain things. Lenormant and Fox Talbot have told us in former years that *cu* is Altaic for 'king.' Lenormant and Delitszch and others have told us for the last twenty years that *ma* is Akkadian for 'country.' But supposing these views to be not now held; supposing the scholars in question to cut out of all published works the words *cu* for 'king,' *pa* for 'sceptre,' *ma* for 'country,' and put *anin* and *gisdar* and *mat* instead. Supposing that such authorities as Norris and Lenormant, and Delitszch and many more were wrong, then of course the comparisons will all fall to the ground. It is certain that a particular emblem was used both to represent *cu* and also to represent 'king;' another represented a sceptre, and had the sound *pa*; another represented the sound *ma*, and appears to be used for 'country.' How can we possibly know whether to retain these sounds, or to prefer others which have been found to exist in Akkadian, when using the signs as ideographs for 'king,' 'sceptre,' or 'country'?

It seems to me that the test lies in certain comparisons by which the cuneiform scholars have formerly controlled

their readings in many cases. Whatever words may most commonly have been used in Akkadian among the many known Akkadian words for 'king' and 'country,' it is certain that old monosyllables like *ku*, *ma*, *pa*, &c., are primary roots of Turanian languages. Not only so, but they have survived unchanged to our own days in the living Altaic tongues. Lenormant has in many cases traced an Akkadian word as he read it through numerous Finnic and other Altaic dialects. In all the Finnic languages, Professor Isaac Taylor tells us, *ma* is the word for 'land' or 'country.' What we have to do is to take the sounds *ku* and *ma*, and to trace them through the various living Altaic languages, as Lenormant has traced many other Akkadian words, and to show that to the present day they retain the old sounds and the old meanings.

I believe that by aid of the comparative vocabularies of Donner and Vambery it will not be difficult to establish in certain cases the fact already recognised, that the monosyllabic sounds known in Akkadian are common, with very slight modifications, to a large number of Finnic, Turkic, and even Mongolic languages. It may be objected that we should not even then be able to show that Hittite and Akkadian were the same tongue; but the decision of that question will not rest on the words but on the grammatical construction, since the grammar of Akkadian presents a different order from that of modern Altaic dialects. I do not expect that the Hittite will be found to be exactly like any of the various dialects known from the cuneiform; I only expect that it will prove to be closely akin to them, and to contain the same primary and secondary roots, and a grammar probably nearest to that of the Akkadian.

I have in the list of Hittite names given a few such comparisons, but the demonstration must evidently be worked out in detail. Meanwhile the authority of Dr. Taylor seems sufficient to quote in defence of the word *ma* on the bilingual; and it may prove that Norris, Fox Talbot, and Lenormant were right in the old opinion that *ku* meant 'king' in Akka-

dian and in Proto-Medic. If anyone who looked at the emblems on the boss preferred to call them *anin* or *sar* or *mul*, and *mat* or *vurun* or *ki*, that by no means would prove that they could not be called *ku* and *ma*, which were the only sounds surviving in connection with these emblems in the Cypriote sketches if correctly compared. This is the reason why I think the criticism on my work, published ten days after the book appeared, may in the end not be sustained.

I will not weary you with further details. The same principles may carry us much further on. We should devote attention to those emblems which denote the cases, the plural, the pronouns, the voices of the verb, to the double sounds like *kaka*, *kit*, *meske*, &c. I think it may be found that the positions agree with the positions that such words should hold according to Akkadian grammar—the sounds being obtained from similar Cypriote emblems. There is only one scientific way, I think, of studying these texts. We must take each emblem separately and examine its position with respect to others in the groups of which it forms part, in order, if possible, to obtain a value for that emblem which will agree with *all* the occurrences. Then, having fixed what each sign means, and having supported that determination by every possible consideration, you may come to know that word. Treat every word the same way, and get, if possible, a separate idea of what each word means. Then begin to translate, keeping the same radical meaning throughout for the word, and sticking fast to your rules of grammar. Clearly this is the only scientific method. For the sign resembling the Cypriote *ne* I collected no less than fifty-eight examples, and from them it appeared to me that, if regarded as the Akkadian *ni* or *na*, meaning 'male,' 'he,' and 'of,' the position in every case of the fifty-eight would be a possible position. I took *mu* and treated it the same way in twenty-four cases with similar results, and so with the rest. This, surely, was the severest possible treatment, bound by the most severe rules possible, whereby a meaning could be established for

any word, from its picture value, its sound value, and its position combined.

Of course we are more accustomed to think of historical than of magical inscriptions. We know of Nebuchadnezzar's historical tablets and of Sennacherib's account—a very diplomatic representation of facts—of his attack on Hezekiah; but these tablets of the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. are modern as compared with the old magic texts of Egypt and of the Akkadians. Some of the most wonderful work done of late years has been that accomplished by Renouf in investigating the Egyptian Book of the Dead. His familiarity with the labours of Max Müller on the Vedas has enabled him to explain Egyptian mythology as it has never been explained before. I have studied with care his papers on this subject, and I believe that the key to a right understanding of Akkadian or of Hittite religion lies in comparative study. From the folk-lore of Bengal, the Finnish 'Kalevala,' the Mongol tales, collected by Gubernatis, we may perhaps gather truer ideas of the belief of Hittites and Akkadians than from the learned disputes of scholars over a cuneiform syllable.

If there be any fundamental objection to these general principles, it will, of course, be impossible that any work founded on them should succeed; but it does not seem to me possible that they are wrong, because whatever standard work one reads the same general principles are always met. My object is not to defend points of detail which may be shown to be incorrect; but at present the agreement as to the texts in question has not even reached an agreement in principle. My object has been in the present paper to give a sketch of the Hittites as they appear surrounded by other peoples of various race, and to put forward considerations, which, I hope, may not be altogether unworthy of discussion, in favour of the Turanian character of the race and of a possible connection of their language with that of the oldest populations of Media and Mesopotamia.

Discussion.

Mr. Hyde Clarke said that Captain Conder was welcome in the Royal Historical Society, because they were desirous of prosecuting studies in the decipherment of ancient history, in which the English school had particularly distinguished itself, as with regard to cuneiform, to Egyptian and to Indian palæographic investigation. On this very subject of the Hamath inscriptions and their wide historical bearings, he himself had been allowed to read papers before the society, which dealt extensively with the whole matter. Captain Conder came before them distinguished by his labours and discoveries in Palestine, and on this other topic his paper, while premising the prosecution of the subject in the future, most modestly put forward his conceptions as suggestions to be hereafter examined and estalished. Perhaps he would have already obtained more definite results if he had trusted to his own powers of research, instead of accepting as authorities the loose propositions of others. In fact, although there had been very much writing about the Hittites, and people thereby supposed they were acquiring a great deal of Biblical knowledge, in reality that which they got was an extension of what Chabas had so long ago laid down as to the Khita or Kheta, and what he had himself written on the Turanian populations of the Mediterranean countries. Mr. Stuart Glennie had again come forward since his recent memoir to call their attention, as he himself had done, to the part the white Turanians had played in the establishment of the early forms of culture. It would be remembered he himself had gone so far as to propose an African highland migration centre for these white races, and treated as Turanians many of the populations of western Asia, now speaking Semitic or Indo-European languages. Availing himself of the latitude given by Captain Conder he hesitated to accept most of his conclusions. True it is that, as a matter of necessity in the constitutions of language, there must be relations between Akkad and the Khita group, but it did not follow that the ideographic texts in Khita were to be treated as Akkad. Of inflections there appeared only the plural mark, but that was not necessarily to be represented by a sound. Besides, as in Georgian, a word might be employed with an optional genitive particle or be united as an absolute compound. In Tarkendemo there appeared to be a compound of three words and there was no need for an inflecting particle. Besides he wished particularly to point out this, that in the boss it was not to be assumed that the grammatical order of the cuneiform was the order of he Khita. By comparing

the Khita character of the boss with the corresponding form on an inscription at Carchemish, it would be seen that the order is not identical. The reasonable view to be taken was that of his paper on the 'Early Mediterranean Populations' in the society's Journal, and in conformity with the opinion of M. Georges Perrot, that the characters admitted of phonetic rendering in several of the Mediterranean languages. Further, his decipherment there given was palæographically, numismatically, and linguistically confirmed, that the first two characters were a Bull and a Lion, and the corresponding languages must be those in which the two animals were represented by Tara and Kun in the analogous syllables. Although he had originally proposed the relation between some Khita and Cypriote characters, he had never asserted that the sounds of the characters were identical except where the same language was used. Indeed, the coins and the Trojan, Cypriote, Hellenic, and other coins and gems, designated by some Hittite, showed by the rebus the reverse process, that where the sound was the same the emblems or objects were diverse. Captain Conder well said that he had found a large number of examples of the character he calls *Ne*, but he does not state that the sound varies. A main cause of failure in decipherment as yet has been the adoption of a narrow basis. In the first place a careful distinction must be made between race and language, for the latter is no test of race, and a language may pass to a succession of races, conquerors and conquered. A strong desire has been shown to fix on what is considered to be the Altaic group, although there is a mass of kindred languages distributed afar in the Eastern hemisphere. The Caucasus with its abundance of languages ought to give us some warning as to what must have been the ancient linguistic condition of these countries. In the Caucasus it is true many languages have been preserved, but of many other languages no near kindred can be found. Diagrams of characters show that, as he himself had stated before the society, characters identical with the Khita were to be found as widely distant as western China in the Lolo and Moso and western Africa in the Vei. These characters also exhibited features identical with the Cypriote and illustrated the languages preceding the Phœnician and the Hellenic. If the characters were so distantly distributed so may the words be dispersed. In a letter he had received from Professor Maspero on two Khita words he was able to trace them to a common repository in the neighbourhood of the Vei group, apparently connected by a Libyan channel. Mr. Clarke concluded by proposing a cordial vote of thanks to Captain Conder.

CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

HELD AT THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, ON SATURDAY, OCT. 22, 1887, PROFESSOR MANDELL CREIGHTON, F.R.HIST.S., IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said:—This conference was convened by the Royal Historical Society, at the request of some of those engaged in historical teaching. I think that the crowded condition of the room is an ample justification both of the suggestion itself and of the readiness of the Council to meet it. There are peculiar difficulties in the way of the teaching of history from which the teaching of other subjects is free. The first difficulty is that historical teaching has not yet acquired an *organon* like classics and mathematics; nor could it do so, for it was not founded upon a method which could be brought within the pupil's reach. Classics and mathematics were concerned with language and number; and the student of these subjects had command at once over the method and the material of his study. Now history could not pretend to vie with classics and mathematics as a means of education. In fact, it was concerned with instruction rather than education; but the instruction, the information which it gave was of vital importance, for it introduced the pupil into the region of human life and the sphere of human effort. For these reasons it was a necessary subject of study for all, and its necessity was increasingly recognised. The great object of their deliberations must be directed towards suggesting some method of historical teaching which might at least approximate towards a definite system. All teachers at the present day were walking in shackles, the

shackles imposed by endless examinations; but these shackles weighed heavier upon the teachers of history than on any others. For an historical teacher might do his or her utmost to interest a class, to bring before them a picture of the past and instruct them in the mechanism of past institutions, and it might be that their work was, after all, not of a kind which the inevitable examination was qualified to test. If this was so, it was their fault in some degree. On all subjects a *concordat* had to be made between teachers and examiners, who must impress one another. This impression could best be made on the teachers' side by such a meeting as this. Those who arranged examinations and those who examined alike wished to know what teachers were doing and what were their opinions. The serious study of history in schools, at all events of modern history, is so recent, that there must be a great variety of opinion on many points, and everyone wished to have the advantage of the experience of others.

It is not the duty of a chairman to anticipate what had better be left to future speakers; but on one point he would wish to hear opinions. Was it easier to interest a child from the side of picturesque narrative of events or from the side of social and institutional history? He was rather of opinion that a good deal was to be done in the latter way, because in that way it was most easy to interest the pupil by an appeal to his own experience. Thus he would not have constitutional history taught in schools by talk about the *Witenagemot*, but rather by beginning from the policeman, as a common object of youthful curiosity and, it might be, dread. The source of his authority, the extent of his power, his relation to the magistracy, and so forth, might then be explained in such a way as to awaken interest and curiosity, and suggest points for verification in actual life. On these and many other points those who had experience would have much to say. He only hoped that they would have no hesitation in saying it, for the object of a conference was to bring to light divergence of opinion, so that it might be seen that they were not so very different after all.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

It has often been held that the teaching of history should form no part of the curriculum of school education. Children, it is said, should be encouraged to read history for themselves, but they should not be taught it. Language, whether ancient or modern, is the basis of literary, as mathematics is the basis of scientific education. History belongs to neither of these categories, and if taught at all, even at a later age, should form no part of the definite instruction given to the young. I do not intend to argue this question. I will only say, in the first place, that history, ancient and modern, is taught in a large number of schools, and that certificates for proficiency in the study are granted by the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board. It must have been obvious to anyone who has awarded these certificates that those schools did best in the examination in which history was best taught. It was easy to distinguish the schools in which history received a fair amount of attention, and the distinctions granted were due quite as much to the exertions of the teachers as to those of the pupils. Again, history now forms part of the regular academical curriculum both at Oxford and Cambridge. A degree in History is highly regarded, and scholarships and fellowships are awarded for proficiency in the study. Yet it is difficult to maintain a high standard of historical instruction at the University if students come entirely untrained in it from the schools. The more efficient the school preparation, the higher will be the level which our University teaching can attain to. Seeing, then, that history of some kind is taught in most of our schools, that good teaching of it is directly encouraged by University rewards, and that the recognition of history by both Universities as a subject of equal rank with literature and science, with language and mathematics,

demands a previous training if a proper standard is to be maintained, we may assume that we are agreed that history, ancient or modern, or both, should be taught in our schools to some students in some way or other. I shall confine myself, therefore, to the consideration of two questions: (1) What history is best worth teaching at schools? and (2) What is the best method of teaching history in schools?

It will be more convenient if I take the second question first. If it be difficult to determine what is the best way of teaching history, there is no difficulty in deciding what is the worst. The practice, which I fear is far too common, of placing a text-book in the hands of a form, telling them to get up so many pages, and then asking them questions, is the very worst method of teaching history, if indeed it can be called teaching history at all. I admit that if the text-book contained nothing but the bare statement of facts necessary to be known, if it were accurately learnt by heart by every boy in the form, and if the master ascertained that each student was perfectly acquainted with it, something would have been gained. I am, indeed, of opinion that some drudgery of this kind is a necessary preliminary or accompaniment to any thorough knowledge of history. But this is not generally found to be the practice. The text-book is usually written in a narrative form, it aims at style and picturesqueness, the author tells a story when he gets a chance, plums are inserted to make the cake more attractive, the narrative is coloured and has a bias in one direction or another. These very merits of a good book make it an unfit text-book to be used in the manner I have described. The pages are more or less carelessly read; the untrained mind cannot grasp the due proportion of events; the plums are picked out and the solid part left behind; names and dates stick in the memory, while important conditions are passed over; the details of a picturesque occurrence are vividly presented to the mind, a constitutional change, a link in the chain of diplomacy, is not noticed or not remembered. The studious lad will not know all the pages equally well, and probably the facts which he knows best are not the best

worth knowing. The idle lad will trust to the chances of the examination. No teacher can in an hour ascertain that every boy in the class knows the whole of the period which he has to prepare, and the opportunities given for slipping through will be amply used. I lay it down as an axiom that there can be no teaching of history without a lecture from the teacher, and that any system which attempts to dispense with this cannot be considered as teaching at all.

At the same time, if the examination of those who have merely got up history from books is bad, the performance of those who have merely attended lectures is worse. One of the characteristics of history is the large mass of material that has to be studied and remembered. The instruction given in an historical primer is meagre and unsatisfactory, yet how small is the amount of a primer which could be got through in an hour of class reading. A course of thirty lectures when published in a book may be brilliant and stimulating, may revolutionise modes of thinking on certain subjects; but the information contained in them will be slight, and they will probably require many hours' study to comprehend their judgments and allusions. Again, history is necessarily crammed with unfamiliar names of persons and places. Strange indeed is the medley produced by the attempt to reproduce the words and opinions of even the most skilful lecturer. Professor Seeley would shudder at the form which his brilliant generalisations sometimes assume in an examination paper, and University extension lecturers are not always saved even by the defence of a most elaborate syllabus from the most weird misunderstanding. Therefore, my second axiom would be that, although all history teaching worth the name must include lecturing, lecturing by itself will be bad teaching of history.

We have, then, to consider how we may best combine the advantages of lecturing and of a text-book, and how we may avoid the inconvenience of either method. I was led to what I believe is the true solution of the problem by an opportunity which was given me about twenty years ago of seeing the working of the French Lycées, then under the efficient

direction of M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction, and I have since tested the system by experiment. Say that a certain period of history has to be studied in a school-term of twelve weeks, and that two hours a week in school are available for the purpose. In the first place a careful syllabus must be drawn up, dividing the subject into twelve lectures. The preparation of this will require much thought and care, in order that the period may be evenly distributed. Unless the syllabus is well weighed from the beginning, it will be found that the ground is not equally covered, and that many important details are omitted. The syllabus may be short or long, according to the nature of the subject, the character of the class, and the extent to which suitable text-books are available. A mere hand-list of lectures is better than nothing at all, while the syllabuses usually provided by the Cambridge extension lecturers are, in my opinion, too elaborate and detailed. A syllabus which has the compass of a small book has two disadvantages: it cramps the lecturer in delivery—indeed it would be better that his whole lecture should be printed and be in the hands of the students as he reads; and it tends to make the students depend too much on the printed matter before them and too little on the authorities to which the lecture would naturally refer them. If the subject is a lecture with many technical terms and proper names, the syllabus should be detailed enough to make them clear unless an adequate text-book is at hand. Otherwise the mere headings of the various topics would suffice.

Let us suppose that the syllabus has been prepared, and the lectures are to be given on the Tuesday and Thursday of each week. The teacher will, most conveniently beginning on the Thursday, deliver a carefully prepared lecture within the limits of the syllabus. It will depend upon the individual whether the lecture is written or spoken. The latter will be best for a young class, as a written lecture is apt to be too elaborate in style and too concise in statement. But where facts or theories have to be stated with great exactness, a great deal must be written, and in any case the lecture must

not be vague or diffuse. The class will take rough notes of the lecture as it proceeds, each member of it after his own fashion. Between the Thursday and the Tuesday the notes thus taken should be gone carefully over with the help of the syllabus, the text-book, and the various authorities which have been mentioned by the lecturer or referred to in the syllabus, and a concise narrative compiled from these sources should be written out in a large note-book. This task should not take less than three hours, but more might conveniently be spent upon it. It deserves at least as much time as a copy of Latin verses. The note-books should be sent in to the teacher by Monday evening, in order that he may be able to look them over before the second lecture of the week. They should be carefully looked over, marked, and returned. The Tuesday lecture should be spent—(1) in clearing up difficulties, the existence of which has been revealed by the inspection of the note-books; (2) in questioning the class on the subject of the preceding lecture; (3) in reading to the class *illustrations* of the lecture, extracts from original authorities, or from literature bearing on the subject, such as speeches, poems, or political squibs; or pictures and photographs of persons or places may be exhibited, all these having a stronger effect from the fact that the narrative is already familiar to the class. Finally, some subject of a more or less speculative character should be introduced, which will serve as a basis of an English essay (voluntary or compulsory) to be set to the class and shown up at the next lecture. The essay should be short and compact, at the outside not more than a thousand words. To make the work complete, there should be at the end of each school term a searching examination by the teacher on the facts of the history, and at the end of the year the class should be examined by an extraneous authority who does not follow too closely the terms of the syllabus. An English essay should form part of the annual examination. By these means, by the efforts of a good teacher not only will a large amount of history be imparted, but the mind will be trained to the consideration of serious topics, the literary taste stimulated, and

style in writing be formed or improved. It may seem that too much time will have been devoted to what is now a subordinate subject; but it must be remembered that much of the five or six hours' preparation which I have allotted will have been devoted to literary study and composition, which ought to be as much a pleasure as a task, and which in any case engages, or should engage, much of the leisure time of the abler boys. Further, it is by no means my opinion that history of this kind should be taught to all boys, but only to those who have an aptitude for the study.

I should now wish to say something about text-books and other similar helps to learning. The most useful text-book for such teaching as I have described would be a simple straightforward narrative, full of facts, and without any pretence to style, carefully divided into paragraphs and well furnished with dates, genealogical tables, and other *adminicula*. This should be in the hands of the teacher when he lectures, and of the pupil when he writes out his notes, and should be the backbone of his studies. I do not know of any text-book in English which exactly answers to this description; the nearest approach to it lies in the excellent handbooks of Birchall. Primers as a rule are not good aids to teaching; they are better suited to *ὀψιμαθεῖς* than to *tirones*—to those whose education has been neglected than to those who have their education to come. There are, however, admirable books of this character in France. Under the enlightened guidance of Napoleon III. and M. Duruy an attempt was made about twenty years ago to establish a true system of modern-side education. Books were written and a Normal school was established for this purpose. I believe that the scheme then inaugurated has never been completely carried out, but the character of the school-books then established has been well maintained. The German text-books are of a different character, and are more like skeletons of history to be learned by heart. Such books, if well composed, may be of great use. An indispensable guide to the student of English History is Acland and Ransome's English Political History. It is admirable in

clearness of arrangement and insight into the relative importance of facts. It is, however, more suited for advanced than for elementary students. After the text-book comes the hand-book, by which I mean a more or less readable narrative of moderate length. Of these we have some good and many bad, while there are some departments of history of which it is impossible to find a satisfactory narrative in the English language. Here Germany supplies us with a model which may well be imitated. There is a fine field open for an enterprising publisher in the supply of historical schoolbooks. I have indicated three ascending grades of books—the skeleton, the text-book, and the hand-book. After these will come the great histories—Grote, Mommsen, Arnold, Gibbon, Freeman, Froude, Gardiner, Macaulay, of very various merit, but resembling each other in wealth of detail. These should be freely referred to by the students in writing out the notes. I do not mean that every young historian should read all of them all through, but that in each period the ultimate reference should be to a detailed work. It is a great gain to remove from a youthful mind the instinctive dread of a long book. For this purpose there is nothing better than Gibbon. When I was a schoolmaster, I never considered a pupil thoroughly educated unless he had read Gibbon through before he left me. I read it through myself before I was eighteen, and I have derived unspeakable advantage from this experience. Gibbon's faults of style and matter have very slight effect on the youthful mind, whereas his merits, his scholarship, his learning, his breadth of view, his imagination, and his insight, afford a powerful stimulus to study. No young man who has vanquished Gibbon will dread a *μέγα βιβλίον* again. Historical atlases and genealogical tables should be supplied in abundance. The best historical atlas that I am acquainted with is Rhode's, whose abundant maps contain few names beyond those which occur in the history. It is also very cheap. A volume of genealogical tables at once full, accurate, and moderate in price, is still a desideratum to which I would invite the attention of publishers. Is there, also, in English

a set of chronological tables of all history worthy of the times in which we live? It would not be difficult to draw up a good quarto of this kind to be sold for five shillings, and to do so might be an agreeable as well as a useful occupation.

The method of teaching which I have thus minutely, some would say pedantically, sketched is intended for the upper forms of a large school; but the same plan could be equally well employed for children of any age or capacity. The lectures would be carefully suited to the minds of the recipients, and the text-books would be graduated to their wants. In every case I would have the lecture, the text-book, the written exercise, the recapitulation by writer and pupil, and as soon as possible the English essay. I will now pass to the second division of my subject—which kind of history it is best to teach in schools.

In England this question is easily answered: Greek history, Roman history, English history. On investigation, this bill of fare appears to be much more limited. Greek history is found to mean the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, with some facts about Solon, Pisistratus, and Pericles; the times of Philip and Alexander, with those of later leagues, are generally omitted. Similarly, Roman history implies the legends of the kings, the wars of the Republic, the main lines of constitutional change, and the events which led to the domination of Cæsar. Schoolboys are expected to know little about Augustus, scarcely anything about his ten successors, and nothing about the decline and fall of the empire to which he gave shape and consistency. English history is seldom taught in schools as a whole; we are more frequently accustomed to lay stress on special periods—the Norman period, the Wars of the Roses, the Tudor period, the Stuart period. The reign of George III., perhaps the most valuable and interesting subject which could be presented to young students, receives but little attention. I do not quarrel with the selection of those three histories from the whole range of universal history, but I complain that they are not taught to the best advantage.

In Greek and Roman history, too much stress is laid on

the knowledge of mere names, whether they be the names of persons or of places. Who was Aristides? Who was Cleon? What was done at Chæronea, and when? What are the names of Alexander's three great battles? This is knowledge of little value of itself, and even mischievous if too great stress be laid upon it. Indeed, there are two manners of teaching history to boys against which I would protest—the picturesque and topical; of these the picturesque is the least mischievous. 'Make a scene live,' I have heard a teacher say, 'before the pupil's eye, and you have taught him history.' Exhibit two moments, for instance, in Cæsar's life. The cliffs are crowded with barbarians, the eagle-laden ships are driven to the shore; the standard-bearer clad in armour is the first to touch the strand. The disciplined cohorts, massed in serried lines, disperse the tumultuous horde of shouting enemies. Cæsar is master of the coast. Or again, Cæsar, entering hastily into the crowded hall, takes his seat on the throne of state. Papers are presented to him, which he puts aside; importunity becomes impertinence. At last one fatal stab begins the work of murder, till the struggling hero ceases to contend against the dagger of the treacherous friend. Above stands the statue of his rival stained with the victim's blood. Yet if all the art of a teacher and the imagination of the pupil had recalled these two great events to life, with the vividness of the 'Graphic' or the 'Illustrated London News,' neither of them would necessarily know anything of their historical bearing. The importance of both these circumstances lies not in the mere landing or the mere murder, but in the fact that the one event was the beginning of a Roman domination which has its effect upon us to day, and the other was the ending of those mighty plans for the regeneration of the world which Cæsar bore within him in his breast.

Many of the best sayings in history were never uttered, many of the most striking scenes in history never took place; but we will console ourselves with the thought that the importance of an historical fact does not lie in the fact itself, but either in its causes or its consequences. At any rate, picturesque

teaching may arrest the attention of the student, and may, therefore, have its uses; but mere topical teaching has not these advantages. There are some, no doubt, among those who listen to me who think that the most useful knowledge a boy can have is knowledge of facts, and that an examination in facts is the most searching kind of examination. In my opinion, a knowledge of history is not to be acquired for the purpose of solving double acrostics. It is not the facts that matter, but the sequence and the connection of the facts. For myself, I could never remember bare dates; I am only sure of them when I know by reflection that one event must have happened after or contemporaneously with another. Up to a certain age pupils may be impervious to anything but picturesque or topical teaching, but take care as soon as possible to rely on the reason rather than on the memory or the imagination. This leads me to the conclusion that the best periods of history for teaching purposes are those which have been least well written. A teacher will find little to add to the version which Grote gives us of Herodotus or Thucydides. An attempt to improve upon Macaulay is an effort to paint the lily. Histories which are cut and dried, easily learnt and easily forgotten, are a snare to the pupil, the teacher, and the examiner. Far better is it to deal with a period which has not yet been fully written—the epoch of George III., or the French Revolution. To my mind, no period is so instructive as the first of these. It contains the springs of all important political action of the present day. There is scarcely a question of our time which does not arise in it. Although it cannot be studied in any one book, it may be learnt in many books of considerable excellence. It encourages the investigation of documents easily accessible, such as Annual Registers and debates in Parliament; it contains above all an unrivalled treasury of political literature, the pamphlets of Burke and Junius, the speeches of Chatham, Pitt, and Fox, the political satires of Moore and Canning, which speak more forcibly to an age in which political satire is extinct.

To sum up, therefore, allowing that Greek, Roman, and

English histories should continue to be taught in our schools as they are at present, I would have them taught with less minute attention to individual facts, and with more regard to the sequence and connection of the facts. The growth and the decline of the Hellenic spirit, the development and decay of the Roman fabric of government, the birth, the youth, and the maturity of the English Constitution, should never be absent from the mind of the teacher as he deals with any portion of these three histories. It is now a common practice in historical examinations to include a special and a general subject—one to be studied more minutely, the other more broadly. This is good, as it accustoms the learner both to the intensive and extensive treatment of the subject. But for the successful handling of this method it is desirable that the shorter period should be one which can be studied not in a single book but in a number of converging authorities, and that the larger period should be wide enough to afford a general and comprehensive view.

In conclusion, I should wish to urge the claims of two subjects on your attention which have hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The first of them is universal history, the general course of the history of the world. It seems natural to think that no subject could be more important for the consideration of any human being than the knowledge of the main lines which the race has followed since the dawn of history in reaching the position which it has now attained. The best way of understanding any situation is to know how affairs came into that position. Besides the satisfaction of legitimate curiosity, it is only thus that we can be wise reformers, and distinguish between what is a mere survival of the past and an institution which is inherent in the character of the community. Our German cousins are fully aware of this truth; a German parlour, however meagrely furnished, always contains two books, a Bible and a Weltgeschichte. I suppose that during the present century from a hundred to a hundred and fifty of these universal histories have made their appearance in Germany. In England I only know of two

In Germany, Italy, and Austria, and, I believe, in France, universal history forms an essential part of education for nearly all classes. It is taken as a subject under certain conditions in the *Abiturienten-Examen.* I once had the privilege of reading the notes of a *vivâ voce* examination of a student in this subject who did not pass. It covered the whole range of ancient, mediæval, and modern history. I was astonished at what the student did know, and still more at what he was expected to know. I should like to see the subject an essential part of all secondary education in England, just as the knowledge of Bible history was in my young days and may be still. If proper text-books were forthcoming, to which I again direct the attention of enterprising publishers, there would be no difficulty in making this subject an accompaniment of nearly every literary lesson. In this department the memory might be advantageously called upon, and mere learning by rote would be defensible. The advantage would be the enlargement of the mind by the contemplation of the majestic march of human events and the preparation for any future course of historical study. 'Boys come to us,' said a German professor once to me, 'knowing their centuries.' How few English boys or even English men have any notion of their centuries! The dark ages are indeed dark to them. I once asked a boy at Eton, who had given me a date, whether it was B.C. or A.D. Being hopelessly puzzled, he replied that it was B.D. Many of us, if we were honest, would give a similar answer.

The next neglected subject is political science. By this I mean the knowledge of the fabric of government in our own and other countries in modern and ancient times, the evolution and differentiation of the state. It is strange how in a political country like our own, even among the classes which used to enjoy a monopoly of government, this subject has been so far overlooked that there are scarcely any books written upon it. They manage things better in America. I have often been struck with the familiarity which American boys possess with the working not only of their own machine of government but of political institutions generally. They speak of them not as

something learned by heart and looked at from a distance, but as something familiarly known, and understood as a matter of individual concern. Two books have been published recently which go some way to supply this want—'The Citizen Reader,' published by Messrs. Cassell, and 'Elementary Politics,' by Mr. Thomas Raleigh. In France the programme of July 1882 orders a *Cours d'Instruction Civique* for primary schools, which has been drawn up by competent hands. Two centuries ago Comenius contemplated the teaching of politics or the machinery of government throughout his ascending scale of schools, from the mother's school to the university. Let us hope that an attempt to give political knowledge will be in England also the accompaniment of an extended suffrage.

I hope that what I have said may be the introduction to a useful discussion, and that the result of our conference may be to place the teaching of history on a better footing amongst us. 'Vous enseignez la science mère,' said Gambetta, shortly before his death, to a school teacher of history. For the eleven years during which I have taught history in the University of Cambridge I have had an opportunity of noting its effects and of comparing it with other studies. I know of no study more stimulating, more invigorating, more bracing to the mind, or of more immediate utility. It is a great thing to plunge a lad from an early age into manly studies, into a region of knowledge, reflection, and speculation, in which no intelligence and no age need be ashamed of moving. Our classical education has descended to us by an accident, but in its palmiest days, when to be a scholar was thought the highroad to becoming a gentleman, the youth of the governing classes were always instructed in history and politics. Pitt was taught the theory of law by his father at fifteen. Without the education of a statesman, scholar and mathematician as he was, he could not have swayed the destinies of England at twenty-four. But this knowledge is as necessary for the governed as for the governors. He who teaches history well is not only a good schoolmaster but a good citizen.

Discussion.

Mr. Aveling, of Taunton, complained that as a rule the periods of history set for them to teach in schools were ancient periods. It was only quite recently that the London University had come to the conclusion that there was any history of the period subsequent to 1680. It seemed to him that the history of the last 100 years was far more important than that of the preceding 900 or 1000 years. It was more important to know the history of England from James I. down to the present time than the history of the Wars of the Roses. There were, in his opinion far too few scholarships given for history at the Universities.

Canon Daniel thought that it was a matter almost of impossibility to teach political science to young children. History to interest children must be of an ethical type. In teaching history they were greatly assisted by analogy, and the cognate subject, geography. When people talked to him about the generalisation of history, he always suspected them of great historical ignorance. By too much generalisation the flesh and blood of historical characters were taken from them; modern historical personages were stripped of their humanity almost wholly. All the charming anecdotes were banished, and there was little left except philosophic relations. He would like to urge upon them the great value in teaching history of synchronistic tables—tables of the dates of simultaneous events.

The Rev. R. S. de C. Laffan, M.A., head-master of King Edward VI.'s School, Stratford-on-Avon, pointed out that the great difficulty was to find any method which would make the teaching of history continuous from the preparatory school to the highest forms of the public school. Young children were as a rule fed on the mere anecdotes of history. More advanced pupils were compelled to learn, practically by rote, strings of facts which seemed to have no connection with the events of their own lives, and which they were not taught to realise as the outcome of motives essentially similar to those of which they were conscious in themselves. It was only when a boy reached the higher forms and came under a powerfully stimulating teacher that the truth flashed upon him that history is the record of the evolution of the present, and the actions which it chronicles the result of the ordinary forces of human nature.

When that revelation came it brought with it an entirely new interest in the study of history, but it did so too often at the expense of a complete break between the earlier and the later teaching.

There was no reason why that break should not be avoided by awakening from the first an intelligent interest in history as a whole.

He believed that by adopting and systematising the method suggested by the chairman a continuous course of historical teaching might be worked out, which would base the boy's study of history on the facts which he observed in his everyday life, and keep its interest ever fresh by a constant conscious reference of it to those facts.

He, too, would begin with the policeman. He would elicit from very young boys by a series of questions the duties performed by the policeman. This would lead naturally to the question of the trial and punishment of offenders, and he would try to keep touch with observed facts as long as possible by letting the boy see for himself an investigation before a magistrate, and, if possible, also a trial by a judge and jury. When the facts which the boy had had before his eyes were fully grasped and their connection understood, he would be in a position to understand the further steps necessary to show the connection between the judges and the laws, and between the laws and the parliament by which those laws are made.

Then he would make a fresh start from the familiar figure of the soldier, and from him climb up again to the parliament by which his pay is voted and the laws necessary for his discipline sanctioned.

The tax-collector would furnish material for a fresh departure from observed facts, and these fresh departures might be multiplied indefinitely by a skilful use of local materials, the object being that the interest in history should have as many roots as possible in the daily life.

When the boy had thus realised how all the lines converged in parliament, his attention might be called to the familiar phenomena of a parliamentary election, and he might be taught to recognise that it is from the people that parliament derives its power.

By this time the learner would have grasped something of the complexity of the social life of which he is a part. Over against this, by way of contrast might be set pictures of simpler modes of life, the savage, the pastoral, the feudal, and he might then be called upon to realise that history is the record of how this grew out of those.

By this method a boy's interest in history might be awakened from the first, and once this interest awakened it would be easy to secure that in each successive stage of his historical studies his eyes were kept fixed on the process of development of the institutions familiar to him in everyday life. Thus, when at last he came into the hands of Mr. Browning's ideal teacher, he would have nothing to unlearn, no new revelation to receive, but would have merely to

develop more fully that intelligent appreciation of history to which he had all along been trained.

Thus the learner would have a continuous thread of purpose running through all his historical work. He would realise from the first that, as history is the politics of the past, so politics are the history of the present. He would realise from the first that the men of the past were no mere abstractions, but living human beings, acting, only on a larger scale and with more enduring results, on the same motives as sway schoolboys in the election of a captain of cricket or in the drawing up of rules for a school club. And so he would be prepared to learn the deepest lesson that history has to teach a democratic age, that as the influence once exerted by king and noble is now exerted by the people or aggregate of individuals, so the momentous responsibilities which once rested on the shoulders of the great and powerful now rest on the shoulders of the people, and therefore of every individual who helps to form the people, and therefore in some very real measure of himself.

The Rev. E. F. M. MacCarthy (King Edward's School, Birmingham) said he doubted if any real improvement would take place in the history teaching in secondary schools so long as it was taught, as now usual in boys' schools, by the class masters, who took that subject as one of a miscellaneous group. History, to be effectively taught, needed a specialist, and should be on the same footing in that respect as mathematics, modern languages, or science.

Miss Isabel F. Lublin, F.R.Hist.S., tutor at the North London Collegiate School for Girls, said it must have been a great pleasure and satisfaction for all interested in the teaching of history to see so large an assembly and to listen to the admirable and suggestive paper of Mr. Oscar Browning. She would only venture one or two remarks :—

(1) History should be from the very beginning taught in the best possible way, for if not the child received wrong impressions, which were difficult to eradicate.

(2) Would it be deemed advisable for plays of Shakespeare and historical novels to be read sometimes with or to a class, in order for them to get an insight into the manners and customs of the times?

(3) It seemed to her a very happy omen that Mr. Browning advocated the study of general history—*Weltgeschichte*—almost neglected in all schools.

HUGH ELLIOT IN BERLIN.

By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read*, November 1887.)

No diplomatic story is better known than that of Hugh Elliot stealing the despatches of Arthur Lee at Berlin. The most graphic account is to be found in Carlyle's 'Frederick,' vol. vi. page 557. He describes how the American war is raging and blundering along. The devoted colonists have their Franklins, Lees, busy in European courts. 'Help us in our noble struggle, ye European courts; now is your chance on tyrannous England.' He says that the British cabinet had got it into their sagacious heads that the bad neighbour at Berlin was in effect the arch-enemy, and probably the mainspring of the whole matter, and that it would be in the highest degree interesting to see clearly what Lee and he had on hand. Order is therefore given to Elliot, 'Do it at any price;' and finally, as mere price will not answer, do it by any method—steal Lee's despatch box for us. Carlyle says further that Elliot had no appetite for the job, but that orders were peremptory. 'Lee is a rebel, *quasi* outlaw, and you must.' Elliot thereupon hired or made his servant hire the chief housebreaker or pickpocket in the city. He is told that Lee lodges in such and such an hostelry; bring us his red box for thirty hours; it shall be well worth your while. 'And in brief space the red box arrives. A score or two of ready writers are ready for it, who copy all day and all night, till they have enough, which done, the Lee red box is left on the stairs of the Lee tavern. The box locked again and complete, only the Friedrich-Lee secrets completely pumped out of it.' Carlyle goes on to tell us that this 'astonishing mass of papers'

is still extant in England, in the Eden House archives. That he has seen the outside of them, but not the inside, but that he is able to say from other sources, which are open to all the world, that the discovery had no value, but that the only question mooted between Lee and Frederick was the conclusion of a treaty of commerce. He says further, that this surprising bit of burglary was done on Wednesday, June 25, 1777, and that the box, with the essence pumped out, was restored the following night.

This account is as inaccurate in every particular as Carlyle's historical statements very often are. The British cabinet did consider Frederick as their arch-enemy, nor were they more afraid of him than of the courts of France and Spain. There was no order given to Elliot to steal the despatches, but only a general warning that Lee and Sayre were in Berlin, and that they must be carefully watched. Elliot contrived the whole job himself. No professional housebreaker was employed. When the despatch box arrived it was received not by a score or two of ready writers, but by four Englishmen of good family. They copied not all day and all night for thirty hours, but for about six hours. The despatch box was not left on the stairs of the hotel, but given to the landlady by Elliot himself. There is no astonishing mass of papers, but nineteen documents, the titles of which, with most of the documents themselves, are in my possession. Finally, the robbery took place, not on Wednesday, June 25, but on Thursday, June 26, 1777, and so far from the documents being of no importance, they were admitted to be of the highest importance by Lee himself.

A different account of the matter is given by Lady Minto, in her life of her father, Hugh Elliot. Her story is that a German servant of the ambassador having heard him say at his dinner table that he would gladly give a sum of money to anyone who would bring him the papers of the American envoys, waited for no further authority, but, in the most imprudent and reckless manner, broke into the apartments occupied by the Americans in their hotel, entered the room by the window, forced open the bureau, and carried off the papers it

contained. When the theft became known Mr. Elliot declared that he considered himself solely responsible for what had occurred. One of his servants had been led to commit the act by Mr. Elliot's own imprudence. No time had been lost in restoring the papers to their rightful owners.

A third account is given in Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' vol. vi. page 123. He says that Elliot, then British minister in Berlin, at a cost of one thousand guineas, hired a burglar to steal the papers of Arthur Lee, but, on his complaint to the police, sent them back and spirited the thief out of the kingdom. The rash envoy attempted to throw on the officiousness of a servant the blame of having stolen the American papers, which he himself received and read. Another account is to be found in a work of Friedrich Kapp, called 'Friedrich der Grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.' He tells us that Arthur Lee was at dinner in the Hotel Corsika, Brüder-Strasse No. 2, when the English ambassador, by means of a servant, opened his door with a false key, broke open the desk which was in the room, and stole a portfolio. Lee got up from table sooner than usual, and met Elliot on the stairs on the way to his chamber. Elliot, he remarks, was a very unskilful thief; that when he heard that Lee had hastened with a complaint to the police, he became very much frightened, and instead of securing his prey and studying it carefully, he got rid of it and sent back the papers to Lee's door in less than half an hour. Frederick the Great himself gives an account of the transaction which is as far from the truth as those which we have already quoted. Writing to his brother, Prince Henri, on June 29, 1777, he says: 'The English ambassador, in the absence of the American agent Lee, went to his hotel and stole his portfolio, but he became frightened, and instead of opening it threw it on the steps of the house. All Berlin speaks of the occurrence. If one were to act with strictness, I should have to forbid this man the court because he has committed a public robbery, but in order to make no noise I suppress the matter.' At the same time he writes privately on July 1 to his ambassador in London, Count

Maltzan, 'Oh, this worthy scholar of Bute, this incomparable man: your goddam Elliot. In truth Englishmen ought to blush for shame that they sent such ambassadors to a foreign court.' All these accounts are very far from the truth. The papers disclosing the true story were discovered by me in a country house last autumn, and with their assistance I will now proceed to give a narrative of what really happened.

Arthur Lee was a native of Virginia, and was born on December 20, 1740. He was educated at Eton College, and was afterwards sent to Edinburgh to prepare for the medical profession. Having taken his degree as doctor, he travelled in Holland and Germany and then returned to his native country, where he began to practise, but afterwards determined to devote himself to the study of the law, and in 1766 went over to London and became a student in the Temple. He continued to hold correspondence with his brothers and several other persons in America on the political state of things in England and on the affairs of the colonies. In the spring of 1775 he was appointed agent in London for the colony of Massachusetts in succession to Benjamin Franklin, and, in December of the same year, the committee of secret correspondence in America requested him to act as their agent in London, and to send them any information which he might think important. When the young Republic was attempting to obtain assistance from European powers, they sent commissioners to the court of France, and Jefferson declining the appointment, Arthur Lee was put in his place; this was on October 22, 1776. Lee went to Paris, where he met the other commissioners, Franklin and Deane. In the spring of 1777 he went to Spain to obtain assistance from the Spanish government for the United States, and in this object he was partially successful. Shortly after returning to Paris he set out for Berlin, where he arrived on June 4. He travelled by the circuitous route of Munich and Vienna, driving, we are told, in an English post-chaise painted deep green, with the letters 'A. L.' in a cypher. His companion was to have been Carmichael, but Sayre, an alderman of London, devoted to the

American cause, was substituted at the last moment. Lee and Sayre lodged, as we have before said, at the Hotel Corsika, in the Brüder-Strasse, a small street near the king's palace, in which the principal hotels of that time were situated. In 1777 there were no hotels in the Unter den Linden.

Hugh Elliot, at this time a young man of twenty-five, had been sent as minister to Berlin, where he arrived on April 1, just two months before the American envoys. His instructions, dated March 3, are in the Record Office, but do not differ from the ordinary run of such documents. The Earl of Suffolk was then Secretary of State who had charge of the Foreign Department. On May 9, 1777, he wrote in the following terms:—

> Messrs. Carmichael and Lee, two of the rebel agents, are said to have quitted Paris in order to attempt some negotiation at the court where you reside. These two persons are not on good terms with each other; the first of them has the best abilities and is most in the confidence of his principals, Messrs. Dean and Franklyn. The other, however, is more immediately in the commission of the rebel congress and was lately employed in their service at Madrid, but was not suffered by the Spanish ministers to open his business. I am not yet informed of their views at Berlin, but should conjecture that they had general instructions to hold out false ideas of the progress of their rebellion towards independence and of the commercial advantages in their power to grant, with a view to obtain in return money and experienced officers. You will, of course, give every proper attention to their conduct, and to the impression which it may make.

On May 30, he writes again:—

> I now find that Mr. Sayre (and not Mr. Carmichael, as was at first proposed) accompanies Mr. Arthur Lee to Berlin. His Majesty's ambassador at Paris has already communicated to you the supposed object of the rebel agents in this mission, and I have only to add with regard to Mr. Sayre, that he is a man of desperate fortune, but with the disposition rather than the talents to be mischievous. His personal vanity is at the same time so great, that he talks of going forwards to Petersburg in order to try the effect of his address and figure at that court.

It will be seen that in these letters there is no indication

that Lord Suffolk ordered Elliot to take the strong measures which he eventually adopted.

On June 6, two days after Lee's arrival, Elliot writes from Berlin in the following terms:—

Two persons alighted at an inn the day before yesterday, who call themselves Americans. One of them is Lee, mentioned in your lordship's letter No. 1; the other is Sayre, the banker, who travels under the name of Stephens. They are said to have come from Vienna by way of Prague and Dresden, and give out that they are to stay here about a fortnight. Their servant, who arrived in town some time before them, went immediately to the Marquis de Pons, the French minister, to whom he gave letters. Lee himself carried a letter to M. de Schulemburg, by whom he was received, although that minister in the evening turned the conversation towards the report prevailing of the arrival of American agents, that he might have an opportunity of assuring me he was perfectly unacquainted with the truth of it. Mr. Zegelin, formerly minister of the court at Constantinople, who possesses a great share in the king's confidence, and in consequence of being employed in his most secret transactions always resides at Potzdam, came to Berlin unexpectedly the day before Lee, and is now lodged at the same inn and upon the same floor. It will be exceedingly difficult if not impossible to discover negotiations carried on through so private a channel. The appearance of emissaries from the rebel congress is the general topic of conversation, but as any knowledge of their character is totally disclaimed by the ministry, from whom I continue to receive every mark of attention, I have no other line to take than that of watching their motions in private with all possible diligence.

On June 10, he gives this further information:—

I am not yet able to give your lordship any authentic account of the particular object which the American agents have in view at this court. It is probable nothing will transpire till the King of Prussia is returned from Pomerania. I am well assured that Lee has brought a letter from the rebel congress, but it is not supposed that any answer will be given to it. He has had some conferences with M. de Schulemburg, but though received politely he is said to have met with little encouragement, and had no hopes given him that his proposal would be accepted by his Prussian Majesty. Sayre and he talk of going to Potzdam about the time of the king's return, which is fixed for Saturday next. In the meantime they employ themselves

in making inquiries of the different manufacturers at Berlin concerning the prices of cloth and linen ; and I make no doubt if they pay ready money but they will be supplied with what quantities they please.

And on June 19 he writes as follows :—

M. Hertzberg told me yesterday at dinner, loud enough to be overheard by the French minister, that no permission had been sent to Embden to receive American privateers, &c. Mr. Sayre continues at Berlin, and often sends letters to M. de Schulemburg's department and receives answers from it. He has also written two lately to the King of Prussia, but I cannot give your lordship any information of their contents.

In the meantime Lord Suffolk had written the following instruction from London, dated June 20 :—

I have secret and certain information that Mr. Arthur Lee's journey to Berlin was the result of a correspondence which had been carried on some time between the other rebel agents at Paris and Baron de Schulemburg, who you know possesses very good abilities, and is supposed to be much in his Prussian Majesty's confidence. The object of that correspondence on the part of the rebels was to obtain some public countenance of their cause at the court of Berlin, with a view to make it the pretext for a similar avowal at other courts. His Prussian Majesty however would not give any sanction to an indecency so derogatory to the sovereign character in general ; and though the proposal of the rebel emissaries to make some agreements respecting tobacco (which had been thrown out as the lure on their part) was not rejected, they were informed that any person sent by them to treat thereon at Berlin must be content to remain incognito.

The robbery of the papers took place on Thursday, June 26, and of the details of this transaction there are no particulars whatever in the papers which are preserved in the Record Office. From the state of the binding it can easily be seen that the volume which ought to contain the documents has been tampered with, but a happy accident has enabled me to discover the very papers which by some unknown means were removed from their proper depository.

On June 28, 1777, Hugh Elliot writes the following letter in cypher to the Earl of Suffolk:—

(Most Secret.)

My Lord,—I have only time to inform your lordship that I have taken copies of several papers belonging to Lee which contain some important information respecting the connections of France and Spain with the rebels. I am sorry to add, that by any accident I may be subjected to considerable trouble from the consequences, and perhaps lose my situation. I will write in full upon this subject, either by the next post or by a courier. In the meantime I presume to observe that the most confined secrecy on this subject is material. I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
H. Elliot.

Right Honourable Earl of Suffolk.

The robbery had taken place three days before. Mr. Liston, who in early days had been Elliot's tutor, was at this time attached to the embassy at Berlin. Elliot sends him to London with the papers he has copied, ordering him to give a verbal account of the means by which they were obtained. By great good fortune I discovered in the autumn of this year, in a country house occupied by a descendant of Hugh Elliot's, the narrative which was taken down from Liston's lips for the information of the king and ministers, and which has hitherto eluded the curiosity of historians. It runs as follows:—

Mr. Elliot having, by the activity and address of a German domestic, gained the servant at the inn where the rebel agents lodged, and having heard that Lee had long entered in a journal at night the transactions of every day, determined if possible to possess himself of that journal. He was informed that Lee kept it in a portefeuille which was sometimes locked and sometimes not, but that the door to the chamber was always locked when Lee was about. His next step was to get false keys made both to the door and to the bureau. Hearing now that both Lee and Sayre were going to M. de Launay in the country, where they generally stayed till eleven at night, he sent the German servant to bring off the papers, but strangers were just arrived and the man could not get in at the door. He therefore entered the room at the

window of the first floor, opened the bureau with his key, found the portefeuille with the key in it, and brought it away out of the window without being seen except by one of the people who were gained. This was about four o'clock, and Mr. Elliot was at dinner with Sir Trevor Corry, Mr. Bernier, Mr. Liston, and Mr. Harvey, member for Essex. They were all enjoined the most sacred secrecy, and set to copying instantly: and Mr. Elliot went about to pay visits and show himself, which he did till eight in the evening, when he called at the inn on the pretence of visiting Lord Russborough, son of Lord Milltown. He found Lee and Sayre that moment arrived, and with Lord Russborough, and knowing the papers not to be yet replaced, had nothing left for it but to join them and to endeavour to amuse them with conversation, which he did for near two hours (without any introduction or acknowledgment of each other's names, but merely as men happening to meet who spoke the same language). About ten o'clock Lee got up and said he must go to write. Soon afterwards Mr. Elliot heard a violent clamour in the house of 'a robbery, the loss of papers, &c.' He now drove home, and finding the most material papers copied, resolved to send back the whole parcel immediately. They were accordingly delivered (by Mr. Elliot himself, disguised) late that night to the mistress of the house, who was in the plot, and said they were brought by a porter who left them and ran off. The instructions from the congress were accidentally left behind, and were sent afterwards, from which circumstance it was supposed that this was the only paper that had been read.

Lee now made his complaint to the Governor of Berlin, and to the lieutenant of the police. The waiter of the inn and Lee's servants were seized and examined. They confessed that a servant of the English minister had tampered with them, but to no purpose; this was reported to the king, and Mr. Elliot learnt that M. de Hertzberg was to desire him to give up his servant to be examined. This, however, he had guarded against by directing the man to fly out of the country, and he is now with Mr. Matthias at Hamburg. He then went himself to MM. de Schulemburg, Finckenstein, and Hertzberg, and attributed the whole to the indiscreet zeal of the fugitive servant.

I have in my possession the copies of nearly all the documents carried by Liston, but, what is more important, I am able to give the list of the whole.

1. Letter from Schulemburg to Franklin and Deane at Paris. Dated Berlin, March 15, 1777.

2. The Answer. Dated Paris, April 19, 1777.
3. Letter from A. Lee to Count Schulemburg. Dated Paris, May 8, 1777.
4. Note to Count Schulemburg from A. Lee. Dated Berlin, June 5, 1777.
5. Letter to Count Schulemburg from A. Lee. Dated Berlin, June 8, 1777.
6. The Answer. Dated Berlin, June 9, 1777.
7. A. Lee's Reply. Dated Berlin, June 10, 1777.
8. A. Lee's Answer to a Letter of Count Schulemburg's of June 18. Dated Berlin, June 20, 1777.
9. A. Lee's Memorial to his Prussian Majesty.
10. A. Lee aux Ministres du Congrès.
11. Letter from A. Lee to the Right Hon. the Secret Committee of Congress. Dated Paris, April 13, 1777.
12. A. Lee's Letter to Señor Don Diego Gardoqui, Madrid. Dated Paris ——.
13. A. Lee's Letter to Señor Don Diego Gardoqui, Madrid. Dated Paris, May 13, 1777.
14. A. Lee's Letter to Señor Don Diego Gardoqui.
15. Postscript from Mr. Grand to Arthur Lee at Strasburg. Dated Paris, May 16, 1777.
16. A. Lee to M. de Grimaldi, at Rome. Dated Berlin, June 21, 1777.
17. A. Lee to Dr. Franklin. Dated Vienna, May 28, 1777.
18. The Instructions of the Congress to their Commissioners.
19. Mr. Arthur Lee's Journal of all that passed among the Commissioners with the French Ministers, the Congress, Holland, from December 16, 1777.

Three other despatches were also conveyed by Liston, which once existed in the Foreign Office archives, but which, as I have said above, exist there no longer.

(Most Secret.) Berlin: July 1777.

My Lord,—I am happy to inform your lordship that the inconveniences I apprehended when I wrote last from my having possession of Mr. Lee's papers are not like to take place. Mr. Liston will set out immediately to carry copies of them to England, and will give any further accounts that may be wished of the transaction. I hope the interesting nature of the information acquired will excuse the irregularity of the mode adopted. As Mr. Liston takes purposely

a roundabout road, he may probably arrive some days later than this etter. I have the honour to be, with the utmost truth and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

H. ELLIOT.

Berlin: July 2, 1777.

My Lord,—I have the honour of inclosing several papers of importance I have obtained copies of at considerable risk and some expense. Mr. Liston, the bearer of this letter, will give your lordship an account of all the particulars relating to them. I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

H. ELLIOT.

(Most Secret.) Berlin: July 2, 1777.

My Lord,—As Mr. Liston will have the honour to deliver this letter, I shall not enter into any minute detail of the transaction mentioned in my two last. He can give every information your lordship may require with respect to the manner of acquiring the papers. I shall only mention the conduct I have held since.

Such strong suspicions had fallen upon a servant of mine who was actually employed in bringing them to me, that I thought it my duty to take a step I had previously resolved upon in case a discovery was likely to be made. I waited upon the minister, and declared that what had happened had been occasioned by my imprudence in having shown too great inquisitiveness concerning Mr. Lee and Mr. Sayre; that a person employed to give an account of their motions had from over-officiousness committed this unwarrantable action; that though the papers had been sent back as soon as I knew what had been done, yet I felt myself so much to blame that I could not help begging leave to represent to his Prussian Majesty, either in person or through the minister, that my court had no knowledge of this affair, that I alone was in fault, and that if his Prussian Majesty chose, I was ready to ask my recall, and to submit to any decision he might think proper to give.

The day after, I received for answer that the king could not help looking upon what had been done as *fort vif, fort précipité*, that as I had declared my court was totally ignorant of this affair, *il ne la rèleveroit pas*, but advised me to take care that nothing of this kind should happen for the future.

If I might be allowed to express to your lordship what appears to me becoming of his Majesty's dignity upon this occasion, I

should not hesitate to beg that I might be ordered to tell either the King of Prussia himself or his minister, that although the King of England is sensible of the indulgence shown me by his Prussian Majesty, yet he disapproves of my conduct in this business, and his Majesty offers to nominate another in my place if I have made myself disagreeable to his Prussian Majesty. Whether this will be accepted or not I cannot determine with certainty, though I am rather inclined to think it will not. I make no apology to your lordship for having risked everything when I thought his Majesty's interest so essentially concerned. I knew that by the sacrifice of an individual every public inconvenience could be prevented ; and as I have not scrupled to make that sacrifice when called upon, I flatter myself I have not forfeited your lordship's protection or my sovereign's approbation.

Mr. Liston will inform your lordship, that matters were so arranged as to make it appear that I had not had time to peruse the papers, and will explain in full every circumstance of this affair.

I am much obliged to Sir Trevor Corry, Mr. Bernier, and Mr. Liston for their assistance in copying the papers. The expense incurred by gaining some, silencing others, and different articles, amounts to five hundred pounds.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost truth and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most devoted humble servant,

H. Elliot.

Carlyle has told us that Elliot was induced to undertake this work by Lord Suffolk against his will. There lies before me the original letter of Lord Suffolk's upon the subject, which tells an entirely different story. The part which concerns Elliot runs thus :—

Charleton : July 14, 1777.

I have ruminated much on Elliot's adventure, and think it won't end as quietly as he imagines. His secret is in too many hands. I applaud his zeal but I don't mightily affect a dasher ; and though I wish to encourage the former, I by no means wish to encourage the latter. All steps whatever relative to this strange business must wait my return.

When Lord Suffolk returned from the country the matter was without doubt fully discussed between the king and his

ministers, and the result was the following despatch, which is still in its place in the Record Office, and which is eminently fitted to be published in a blue book.

St. James's: August 1, 1777.

Sir,—Mr. Liston arrived from Berlin on the 11th past, the morning of my departure into the country; but the despatches which you had transmitted by him were immediately laid before the king, and I have now received his Majesty's sentiments on their contents. It gives me real concern when I find it my duty to convey any intimation of his Majesty's dissatisfaction with the conduct of a minister whose zeal in the public service is as little doubted as his ability, and who, by an excess of the former quality, has been induced to swerve from that discreet regard to his own situation and the dignified principles of his court, which ought in every moment and on every occasion to regulate both his actions and his language. You will easily conceive that I allude to the expression which you confess yourself to have hazarded at your table, 'that you would gladly give a considerable sum of money to anybody who would bring you the papers of the rebel agents.' An expression which, however it might arise in the warmth of conversation, and might be in itself without further meaning, was highly improper to be used by the representative of a court which has disdained and will ever disdain to tread the crooked paths of duplicity and treachery. The very wish that suggested the language, so improper in itself, would have been peculiarly improper at a court which was acting on the occasion with the utmost frankness and friendship to his Majesty and his kingdoms, and with a due attention to its own dignity and the royal character in general. It is, however, but justice to you to admit that you are not liable to this part of the charge after having explained that you spoke in reference only to Mr. Arthur Lee's journal of his proceedings, *before* he went to the court of Berlin.

I insist so long on the expression above mentioned from an equitable anxiety to construe and consider that expression unconnected with the violent act which it occasioned; for that act certainly carries a very different aspect when supposed to originate in your servant's mind from the accidental overhearing of your table conversation, to what it would have done if it had appeared to be a settled plan to obtain the portefeuille, begun by your suggestion and conducted by your contrivances. As, however, in the course of accidental events, there was but too much reason to put the latter interpretation on what passed, the part you took, of stating your own

story, fully and frankly, to the Prussian ministers, was certainly the wisest that your peculiar circumstances would admit. And the reparation which you offered by your proposal to solicit your own recall in case your part in the transaction should have made any unfavourable impression on his Prussian Majesty's mind, was no more than our Royal Master would have been disposed to grant. But the generous answer which was returned to you on the part of his Prussian Majesty prevents this unpleasant consideration; and the caution, to discourage for the future such vivacity in your own language, and so criminal an avidity in the conduct of your dependents, with which the answer was accompanied, comes with so good a grace, that it must, I am sure, be constantly remembered by you. It remains only for you to take some natural occasion of mentioning to the Prussian ministers the sentiments of your court on this business, as I have already done to Count Maltzan. Upon the whole, I may now very sincerely congratulate you on the fortunate conclusion of these embarrassments, every culpable part of which his Majesty will fully forgive, in consideration of the zeal which occasioned them. I am, &c.

SUFFOLK.

This very nearly completes the story, but it is satisfactory to learn that Elliot was not only forgiven by the king but received an extra 500*l.* as payment for what he had done. Mr. Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, a near relative of Elliot's, was on his way to St. Petersburg in the first week in October. He carried with him the following letter for Elliot:—

St. James's: October 7, 1777.

Sir,—In addition to what I have already written to you with regard to the late transaction respecting the papers of the rebel agents, I use this conveyance to inform you (in further proof that the exceptionable circumstances in that business are entirely overlooked in consideration of the loyal zeal which occasioned them), that the king has been graciously pleased to take notice of the great expenses in which you involved yourself, and has directed the amount to be made good to you. I have accordingly received his Majesty's gracious commands to pay one thousand pounds to your agent, and I sincerely congratulate you on this close of our correspondence upon an enterprise which, as it could not be conducted without your making improper confidences, could never have been justified [but] by the completest success.

It is scarcely necessary to make any remarks upon this story, of which we now know the whole truth. If the Americans had been recognised belligerents, and Lee and Sayre their accredited agents, it would have been quite within the rules of international law to treat them as Elliot treated them, although the neutral court might have resented the action of the ambassador in any way that it pleased. It must, however, be remembered that the Americans were at this time not belligerents but rebels, and that Lee and Sayre were in the position of Irish Home Rule leaders at the present day, seeking for the active co-operation, if not the armed interference, of a foreign but friendly power against their own country. At the same time actions like these are to be judged not by definite rules but by the impression they make on the moral sense of mankind. If it be the first rule of an ambassador's conduct that he should on no account exhibit an excessive zeal, Elliot may be judged to have transgressed this precept. He was, however, quite a young man, and his later history shows him to have been, if one of the most erratic, at the same time one of the most brilliant and successful of English diplomatists.

Discussion.

Mr. Fyffe said: All had had their admiration for Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard, and it would be a shock to some to find that their glories must be shared with an English ambassador. He saw no use in calling things by their wrong names. Elliot chose to act as a thief; and the revered George III., with that arch-Pecksniff the Earl of Suffolk, gave him 1,000*l.* for doing so.

The reference to the rights of belligerents seemed to him quite erroneous. When France and Germany were at war in 1870, the French and German ambassadors in London had no more right by international or any other law to steal papers from one another's houses than they had to blow one another's brains out. Then to take the case of rebels. Suppose that in 1861 the Confederate Agents, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, instead of being captured by Commodore Wilkes on board the 'Trent,' had prosperously reached the Langham Hotel; that

while they were there the United States minister had bribed the waiters and chambermaids, made false keys, and stolen their papers; and finally that he had been caught, sneaking back in disguise with the despatch-box. Should we ever have heard enough of Yankee blackguardism and the baseness of republics? Should we ever have been sufficiently thankful for our own highmindedness? The world would have reeked of it to this day.

He agreed to this, that, low as Elliot's conduct was, Lord Suffolk's hypocrisy was even more disgusting. 'A Court wheel has ever disdained and will ever disdain to tread the crooked paths of duplicity and treachery!' Talleyrand was never more shamelessly cynical. The real excuse, such as it is, must be sought in the fact that all the Courts of that time were about equally unscrupulous in their methods. Any scoundrelism was thought fair (he used this word for want of a better) in diplomacy; and though Frederick called Elliot a 'goddam Englishman,' and possibly resented his house-breaking in his own capital, he would not in his heart think the worse of Elliot for it,—on the contrary, he probably thought him a sharp fellow. Frederick himself, Joseph of Austria, and Catherine of Russia, habitually employed people to steal despatches and rob mail-carts. There are plenty of allusions to this even in those State papers of the time which have been published. Though Joseph or Catherine robbed from one another on occasion, they actually had an understanding that papers stolen from third parties, if they could not be deciphered by the comparatively dull people at St. Petersburg, should be sent to the more practised hands at Vienna, and an interpretation be there made for the common benefit. References to this will be found in Vivenot's 'Confidential Letters of Thugut,' the Austrian minister; and he suspected that, if only for lying's sake, Thugut sometimes gave the Russian Court odd interpretations of the papers they had sent to him to decipher—if indeed the Russians did not manufacture bogus papers in order to mislead *him*.

Are thievery and tricks like Elliot's now practised by the British Government? He believed not. Pitt did a great deal to check this, and to make such words as 'honour,' 'good faith,' which had been mere ridiculous sounds to Suffolk and George III., realities in the action of the English Government. In the long struggle with France, when every base means was employed by successive revolutionary governments, Pitt saw how important it was that there should be one European Power which, in its methods, should hold fast, not only in profession, but in deed, to fair and honourable dealing. Judging from things in the English records of that time, he

believed that Pitt would summarily and for ever have dismissed any English ambassador who should have stolen like Elliot. Pitt was beset by people, refugees and others, who were ready to carry out any enterprise against the French Republican Government, and afterwards against Bonaparte. As the murder of the French envoys in 1799 at Rastadt shows, robbery of papers easily passed into assassination ; and events like this probably strengthened Pitt's natural hatred for the dishonourable ways which diplomacy had hitherto sanctioned. Under enormous difficulties, from 1793 to 1815, the British Government, though often violent and high-handed, refrained from the meaner tricks of political business. He was speaking of its foreign policy, not of Ireland. Of course attempts were made to bribe the enemy's generals. This is a recognised part of the operations of war. In the invasion of France in 1814 a sum of 100,000*l.* was offered, though in vain, to the commander of Strasburg. The only interest attaching to the matter is that the Englishman concerned in it was that model of respectability, the late Lord Aberdeen, whose despatches are the authority for the statement.

HISTORIC GENEALOGY.

By H. E. MALDEN, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* December 1887.)

I AM about to offer to the society a contribution which differs in kind from most of the papers which are read before us, and which may, I am afraid, be regarded as inferior in interest to many of them. I am conscious that I can only here touch the fringe of a very large subject, and my object is rather to put forward a claim for its further consideration than to pretend to make any adequate attempt to deal with it exhaustively now. Indeed, neither my own ability nor the patience of the audience would be equal to such an undertaking as that.

I hope, however, that in dealing with Historic Genealogy, or Genealogical History, or Scientific Genealogy, for I am uncertain by what name to best describe it, I am within the limits proposed by this society for its labours. I see that, first among the objects of the society, the promotion of the study of history on general scientific principles is mentioned. The investigation of not only the facts of history, but of the causes and motives of which the facts are an outward expression, is an all important branch of advanced historical study. Would we bring history into touch with modern political life and political and social questions of to-day, we cannot neglect any means, however unimportant or difficult they may appear in their application, which may enable us to get at the true reasons why events happened long ago. Similar reasons are influencing the present development of events around us. It, no doubt, is very hard to get at any satisfactory results; the phenomena are so complex and so

inter-related, that it is easy to generalise too lightly and to adopt false conclusions from imperfectly acquired premises. There is the more reason not for abandoning the effort to scientifically analyse history, but rather for trying the harder to possess ourselves of all the facts before doing so. Among historic facts are the personal characters of the human actors, their nature, that which is born with them, their bodily and mental dispositions. These are to a great extent hereditary. Not only leading men, but the masses of men they lead, are worked upon to a great, though unknown, extent, by the influence of their forefathers. This consideration is often overlooked in studying or writing history, and is, therefore, also overlooked in the treatment of living political questions. I wish, therefore, to put forward a plea for scientific genealogy as being of historical and of political interest.

In the darker ages of this society it possessed a genealogical section. The genealogical information there retailed was of the ordinary unscientific character, generally speaking.

That is to say, the descent of a man or men was made out through a single line of male ancestors from some distant progenitor. So far as that was a fact, it was no doubt, in its way, a bit of useful knowledge. Many long genealogies, however, of this description have a weak point in them somewhere. A single falsification, a single confusion of names, a single hypothetical marriage, may destroy the value of the whole.

Yet these genealogies have their use when they explain the origin of claims to succession or possession actually made by some historic person, through right derived from some ancestor. They are useless, however, in enabling us to estimate the true disposition and hereditary tendencies of the person whose name stands at the end of them. His true motives and his character are not materially influenced, in most cases, by the remote ancestor whose line he carries on, or whose crown he wears.

The practice, prevailing since the most primitive ages at least, of descent of property and names in the male line, ex-

pressed, I suppose, and perpetuates, I am sure, the belief in an exclusive or overwhelming male influence of the father upon his children. The House of Bourbon, the House of Hapsburg, the House of Anjou is spoken of as possessing certain characteristics, which, it is assumed, are handed down from a remote ancestor to his son, then to his son in turn, and so on.

I am afraid that another reason which makes us fall readily into this assumption of exclusive male influence in genealogy is that genealogies are so much easier to follow in the male line. The retention of the surname by the sons, the succession to an estate, or a title or throne, which keeps the eldest male line fixed in one place, makes it delightfully easy to run through a long pedigree of men, and to generalise upon the similarity of their characters and upon their hereditary gifts. When the daughters change their names in marriage, and when their daughters change again, it becomes harder to find out, and much harder to remember, that Mrs. Smith, who was daughter to Mrs. Brown, who was daughter to Mrs. Robinson, was descended from Mrs. Robinson's father, whose name was Jones.

No doubt, sometimes, a single ancestor, male or female, does exercise a great influence over even remote descendants. I confess that the general assumption of male influence is *so* general that it raises a slight presumption in favour of its partial truth. It may be the unconscious expression of an often occurring fact. But that the assumption is by no means universally true is certain. In cases of marked ability or marked weakness the exceptions are most striking.

Henry VI., for instance, showed little likeness to his father Henry V., nor to his Lancastrian or other English ancestry. The inheritance, through his mother, of the madness of Charles VI. of France, her father, is most evident.

Among the houses of which I spoke just now as possessing hereditary characteristics is that of Hapsburg. But the Hapsburgs now are not really Hapsburgs in the male line at all. Many of their ancestors were closely related, but their

ancestress, Maria Theresa, is the main link to bind the House of Lorraine, which now rules Austria and Hungary, with their undoubtedly similar-featured ancestors of Hapsburg.

Nero had the Claudian features and disposition, but was a Claudius only in the female line, though by more than one female descent. Was Charles II., able, witty, unscrupulous, dissolute, dark and harsh-featured, more the son of the handsome, common-place, precise, industrious Charles I., who always had scruples at the wrong moment, or of Henrietta Maria, the daughter of the able, witty, and also unscrupulous and dissolute Henri IV. of France? Was the character of Henry VIII. more like that of the cautious, avaricious, and business-like Henri VII., or that of his mother's father, the pleasure-loving, reckless, and passionate Edward IV.?

Or, to take a more general instance, the great mass of the coloured population of the West Indies represents the union of white men and negro or coloured women. In their case the maternal influence is unmistakable, in character and features, even after some generations of exclusively white intermarriages.

These particular instances might be multiplied at will. There are general reasons besides for doubting the usual view. Four generations back every man has sixteen ancestors, unless their number is lessened by intermarriage of cousins. One among that group exercises but a small influence on the descendant. In the case of composite photographs it has been found that altering one component part in a group of eight has scarcely any appreciable effect upon the resulting picture. So the substitution of one ancestor for another, male or female, three generations back, will, on an average, have a very small effect upon the descendant, cases of negro or other markedly differing descent being, of course, exceptional.

It is usually safe, in the investigation of any matter, to turn to the example of those who are accustomed to make a profit in money out of dealing with similar affairs. Self-interest, in the shape of gain of money especially, much more

than in the shape of health, for instance, will generally guide men in the direction best suited for its attainment. In this connection it is to the point to observe that breeders of animals for profit are not bound to this theory of exclusive or excessive male influence. The breeding of cattle, sheep, and horses in particular, has been carried to a great degree of perfection in England, and will furnish us with examples.

When a great race has been run, the sporting papers do not give to the horse-breeding and horse-racing world a bare genealogy of the sire, grandsire, and so on, of the winner. The ancestry on both sides is set forth in a table showing the two parents, the four grandparents, the eight progenitors in the next generation, the sixteen in the next, and so forth. Over the more remote lines the same names continually recur—Sir Hercules, the Baron, Pochahontas, Guiccioli, and so on. The hereditary capacity of the descendant seems to depend to a great extent upon the combination of various lines of family capacity, and its special characteristics upon the constant recurrence of the same blood.

It would be well for historians to condescend to copy this example, and to give us, so far as possible, cumulative genealogies of all the more recent ancestors of leading historical actors, rather than long drawn-out lines of descent. We should be much nearer to a true comprehension of the men and their work if this were done. The same principle should also be applied to national genealogies, only there the same exactitude would not be possible. Still something might be done to show a learner, at all events roughly, about what proportion of different races may be supposed to have entered into the ancestry of a modern people. If something be known of the capacity, as expressed in customs and institutions, of the ancestral races, something will be learnt of the more complex society of the descended people, its powers and tendencies.

But it is among individuals that the most careful observations may be made, and most striking results obtained. I must remind the society again that when I speak of results I do not mean new facts never known before at all, I merely

look for a more complete understanding of known facts, a deeper insight into their causes. Family characteristics and hereditary traits of form or character are commonly accepted as existing in certain lines. A Stuart, Tudor, Bourbon, Plantagenet character is recognised. But in these and similar instances I think that an arrangement of genealogies, such as I propose, will show that the same blood is reinforced in the house by constant and repeated intermarriages, bringing each their quota of influence upon the descendants.

Let us look at the genealogy of Richard III. treated in this manner.[1] He is a useful example, being well known, strongly marked in character, but yet vigorously defended by some people formerly as the victim of unjust partisan depreciation. However, the good people who have gone about to whitewash his character have overlooked the inherent probability implied in his descent, that he would be a man of reckless violence and bloodshed. The crossing and recrossing of Plantagenet blood in his pedigree is most remarkable. He was descended in three lines from Edward III., in two others from Edward I., and in another from Henry III. Of course every descent from Edward III. implies descent from Isabella of France, Edward I., and Henry III. as well. These are the recurring names in his genealogy. Upon their family characteristics the history of England, France, and Scotland is a sufficient comment. With this blood he united that of the most turbulent baronial lines: Neville, Percy, Mortimer and Holland, and that of Pedro the Cruel, of Castille, who murdered his wife, his aunt, his mistress, and six of his half-brothers, and whose mother also was a murderess. Of Richard's seven nearest male ancestors, two were killed in battle and one executed as a traitor. Another, John Neville, though he died at forty-eight only, reduced eighty-three towns and castles in France; and another, Ralph Neville, passed a long life in perpetual war with the French, Scots, and his neighbours. Yet both died in their beds. Of his nearer male relatives, in

[1] For a concentric genealogy of Richard III., included in that of Henry VIII. and the House of York, see the *Society's Trans.* vol. iii. pt. iii. p. 370.

the three generations above him, ten died violent deaths. The number of battles fought, and murders, executions, and plots contrived by his ancestors passes counting. That they survived through such lives long enough to rear families is a proof of their fitness for their surroundings. Naturally their descendant was apt for crime, fitted to succeed in civil war, and only doing what might be prognosticated of him in cutting his way to the crown by murder, and fighting for it to the death at Bosworth.

There are other historical characters, of disputed fame, whose genealogical annals are worth looking into. Thus Henry VIII., through his mother, Elizabeth of York, shares all the above ancestry of Richard III., but two generations further removed from it. However, he strengthens the Plantagenet cross by threefold descent through his grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, from Edward III., Edward I., and Henry III. Thus, though remotely, he is descended in four lines from Edward III., three from Edward I., and two from Henry III., or in nine lines altogether from Henry III. and his father, John. The descent is remote, but there are no other strains of blood so constantly recurring in his ancestry. That he and his two sisters had eleven wives and husbands between them, and that they were grandchildren of Edward IV., and great-grandchildren of Katharine of France and Jacquetta of Luxemburg, who fell in love with their handsome attendants, may be of moment in weighing the policy of Henry VIII.'s marriages.

Again in the complete pedigree of another controverted character, Mary of Scotland, the only recurring influence is Plantagenet, of these same three kings, Edward III., Edward I., and Henry III., and she is descended from one or other of them in twelve different lines. The only other near recurring influences are the Houses of Gueldres and Luxemburg, each twice over. The former house produced one peculiarly atrocious character, Adolf of Gueldres. But if we look into her immediate ancestry, we find among her four grandparents the names of Stewart, Tudor, Guise, Bourbon de Vendôme.

Can we ask any better guarantee for the production of intellect, courage, and defiance of morality in their descendant? Such seed being thrown into such soil as the France and Scotland of the sixteenth century.

But it is not merely single persons whose life and history may, through genealogy, be better understood. The investigation of a pedigree may reveal the reason for the decay of some ruling family, which, in its fall, involves the fate of nations, and brings about far-reaching political changes.

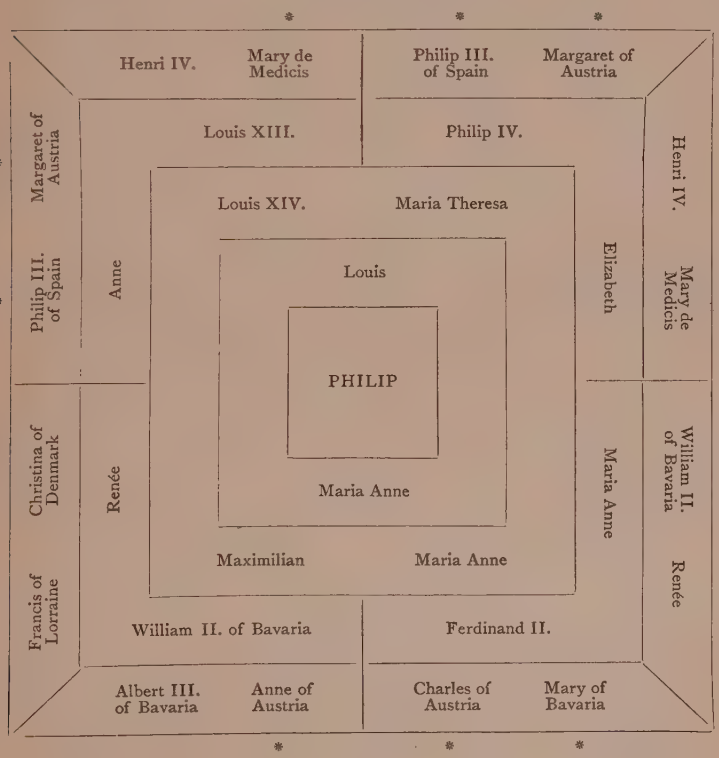
The tendency to the union of smaller kingdoms, duchies, or counties into large monarchies, which accompanies the progress from mediæval to modern political arrangements in Europe, has been fertile in producing such family decay. The desire for aggrandisement has led to intermarriages which have lessened the number of distinct royal houses, and a 'family policy' has led to renewed intermarriages between houses already allied, till there is much reason to believe that the limit of safety has been passed, and, in place of the reproduction of vigorous racial characteristics, degradation and decay, even to extinction, have followed.

The history of the descendants of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile will, I think, be a most instructive line to follow.

The Spanish kingdoms, comparatively secluded from the rest of Europe, were often united by marriage with each other before that time. Ferdinand and Isabella were first cousins to each other, Isabella's parents were first cousins to each other, not to speak of other relationships among her and her husband's more remote ancestors. The united inheritance passed to their daughter, Juana, the mad queen. Her son, Charles, the emperor, married his first cousin, Isabella of Portugal. Their son, Philip II., married Anne of Austria, his first cousin once removed; their son, Philip III., married his second cousin, Margaret of Austria; both these latter marriages being between descendants of the mad queen Juana. Their son, Philip IV., married a daughter of Henri IV. of France, and their daughter, Anne, married the son of Henri IV. of

Specimen of a Concentric Genealogy of Philip V. of Spain.

The persons marked with an asterisk were descended from Ferdinand and Isabella through the mad Queen Juana.



France,[1] and the children of these last two marriages, double first cousins, children of two brothers and two sisters, with such a record behind them, married each other in their turn, and were the ancestors of all the later Bourbons.

This last marriage was between Louis XIV. of France and Maria Theresa of Spain, and was intended to secure the world-wide dominion of the House of Bourbon; and it was succeeded by still more intermarriages among the Houses of Bourbon, Hapsburg, and Savoy especially, bewildering in the intricate relationships which they created. Rather it did secure the continual decadence of that house in body and mind, till, of their three European thrones, their numerous duchies, and vast European and American possessions nothing remains to them now but the throne of Spain, a power which has grown decrepit in their hands. There can be no doubt that the personal deficiencies of the members of the family have contributed in no small degree to this loss of their formerly overshadowing power, and that those personal deficiencies became marked from the time when the first inception of what was afterwards formulated as the *Family Compact* was made, in the fatal marriage of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa. As I cannot expect anyone to keep these complicated genealogies clear in his memory I will try and illustrate the extraordinary interlacing of families by four examples.

When Charles II. of Spain was dying without children, three competitors were spoken of as heirs to his dominions, all descended from the mad queen Juana. Charles II. was himself descended from her in twelve different lines; Charles of Austria was descended from her in ten different lines; Philip, Duke of Anjou, was descended from her in fourteen different lines; Joseph Ferdinand, of Bavaria, was descended from her in twenty-five different lines. These four have respectively eighteen, twenty, twenty, and sixteen ancestors in the third and fourth generations above them, instead of the

[1] Mary de Medicis, wife of Henri IV., was also a great-granddaughter of Juana.

normal twenty-four. Of course the intermarriages by no means ended with the generations of which I speak, but continued, to the ruin of the powers of the House of Bourbon.

It is true that the first Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V., a grandson of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, did bring with him into Spain some personal energy and some French and modern ideas, which helped to revive Spain for a time. His first marriage, however, with a cousin, Maria Louisa of Savoy, produced two sons who died without children ; his son by his second wife, more distantly related to him, was Charles III., whose three successors all married cousins in turn, and reduced the Spanish monarchy, and the Sicilian monarchy, to the state in which we have seen them.

One branch of the House of Bourbon has not shared in the decay of all the others ; the House of Orleans has continued to produce men worthy to be the descendants of Henry of Navarre, and the House of Orleans was not sprung originally from the fatal marriage of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa. They have since intermarried with descendants of that line, but are not related to it so closely and repeatedly as the elder lines of the Bourbons are. The decadence of Spain and the fall of the French monarchy are, of course, to be attributed to many causes ; but, considering the personal influence of the sovereigns of these countries, we may surely allow that a close study of all the ramifications of genealogy has here helped to explain historic facts.

I have chosen the genealogy of the House of Bourbon as both well known and striking in its illustration of hereditary influences, but similar decadence of royal lines from marriages dictated by policy might be cited. For instance, the German branch of the House of Austria, so long as they were connected, in policy, with their Spanish cousins, used to cement that alliance by marriages which seriously threatened the continuance of their line, which, indeed, did expire in the male line with Charles VI. Maximilian II., who married his cousin, the sister of Philip II. of Spain, left five sons, who

grew up and died without children. This failure of the direct line had political results. The succession passed to a collateral heir, Ferdinand II., an event which certainly aggravated the difficulties of the House of Austria at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

But the House of Austria had wider and more varying connections than the Bourbons, and, during the period of their great antagonism with the latter, from the War of the Spanish Succession till the end of the eighteenth century, they married into other German families, and so, perhaps, saved themselves. A more detailed examination of the various pedigrees than is here possible would show how often alliances, intended to strengthen the dynasty and increase territory, have ended in weakness or absolute extinction. An instance in ancient history will readily occur to us, when the Ptolemies of Egypt, a highly gifted dynasty to begin with, decayed and expired through still closer intermarriages than those cited above.

The matter is worthy of attention, for the union of royal persons is the only human union which is ever likely to be controlled by politic reasons, to any great extent at least ; and in the interests of the stability of states, and in the interests of the very existence of monarchy, it is as well that historic should be added to physiological arguments upon the true policy of such unions.

The lessening of the number of ruling houses in Europe, which has been going on almost uninterruptedly since the fifteenth century, and the sharp division of this diminished number into two rival religions, which often forbids their union, holds out a prospect of the possible extinction of monarchy as it now exists through the extinction of royal lines. Its extinction, I say, as it now exists, for I am inclined to believe from the universal experience of history, and from contemporary experience too, that monarchy in some form is inevitable, and corresponds to certain needs and feelings which ensure its continuance in many countries for many centuries. But, if hereditary lines die out or become impos-

sible, the alternative monarchy is Imperialism, or a setting up of the cleverest or strongest man to be Emperor, Minister, President, or demagogue, but anyhow to be master while he stands.

Here I believe that genealogy touches actual, practical politics, besides in other ways illustrating past history.

But I should be sorry to limit the importance of genealogical study, rightly considered, even here. The race is but the family 'writ large,' and, though the questions raised are wider and more complicated, it may also be examined so as to find its prevailing blood and its hereditary peculiarities, gifts, and failings.

A national character certainly exists to some extent; a race dwelling in a certain country is one in blood. It is notorious how certain classes in narrow limits are so connected. Norfolk gentry and Lowland Scotch gentry were all more or less distant cousins to one another at one time. So the nobility of Rome were all related. The old Roman patricians, in fact, the later Roman *optimates*, and the Spartans too, seem to have been related beyond the point of safety, and to have dwindled.

Moreover, besides blood relationship, the members of the same race in a certain country are exposed to the influences of the same food, climate, and institutions, through centuries. How these produce a similarity like the similarity of common ancestry is, I believe, not yet fully agreed, but they do produce a likeness, as in Scotland, for instance, among people of divers descent.

It is within the function of the genealogical historian to point out the peculiarities which seem inherent in nations and their modification by foreign intermixture. Thus the capacity of the Roman aristocracy for war and for political organisation, of the Athenian citizens for literature and art, of the Scandinavians for maritime adventure, for piracy or for commerce, of the Jew for commerce, of the Teutonic nations generally for constitutional government, can hardly be doubted. The proneness of the Celtic mind to religious enthusiasm, the

abhorrence felt by all descendants of nomads for steady labour, and many more hereditary traits might be found.

I conceive it possible that as in families marked characteristics often depend upon intermarriages of the same blood, causing it to dominate over other intermittent influences, so in races the majority may practically swamp the minority; so that though a race, like the English, may not be of absolutely pure Teutonic descent, yet the Teutonic characteristics may generally have mastered all the others.

As in the case of families, judicious or injudicious intermarriages of races may be cited, modifying their former characteristics. In England we made two most fortunate intermarriages: one with keen-witted, adventurous and organising Normans and Franks after the Norman Conquest; the second, no less important, with able and resolute religious refugees from France and Flanders, during the hundred years before and the fifty years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The revival of national energies may be explained by such intermarriages of race.

I believe, however, that the cross of the Spanish and native Indian blood in South and Central America, and of the white and black races in the West Indies, cannot be called successful in their results.

I am persuaded that the decay of institutions may also sometimes be attributed to the gradual prevalence of a strain of blood among their users different from that of those with whom the institutions grew up. Thus the republican constitution of Rome was not fitted for all the less developed peoples of Italy who tried to work it; thus the parliamentary institutions of Franks and Goths died out, as the Celtic and Iberic blood dominated over and absorbed the Teutonic in France and Spain. Thus, too, the Parliament of England, Teutonic in its origin, may not be suited to the Celts of Ireland and Wales.

I do not for a moment wish to exclude other great and complex causes as working also for such changes as these; but I am sure that a genealogical investigation of races as

well as of men by themselves, and a study of their hereditary instincts, may both enlighten historians and instruct politicians.

I am aware that I have gone on into a subject still wider than the wide subject with which I began, yet into a province of the same field. I shall have more than fulfilled my purpose if I shall have successfully commended the subject to your notice—to traverse even part of it fully is more than I can attempt here. I shall be satisfied if I have made it at all clearer how really careful and complete genealogical investigation can illustrate the natures and characters of men, and through these the events of history, and how even nations may be considered in their entirety as links in a genealogical chain. I shall in a humble way be glad if I can induce any single one of my hearers to put beside his family tree a square or circular genealogy embracing all his accessible ancestors, and concentrated upon himself or his children. If such genealogies can be inserted in history-books it will be better still.

Discussion.

Mr. Oscar Browning said that he was much interested by Mr. Malden's remarks, and that the importance of genealogy in the study of history could not be overrated. At the same time it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information upon the subject, and in his opinion a good edition of genealogical tables published at a moderate price was very much needed.

Dr. J. Foster Palmer said that he was extremely glad of the opportunity to assist in welcoming Mr. Malden's paper as a valuable contribution to history from an anthropological standpoint, for he believed that a true basis for the study could only be secured by a due and impartial consideration of *all* the various sources of evidence which can be brought to bear upon it. Modern historians have relied too exclusively upon philology for the earlier, and upon documentary evidence for the later periods. Both these kinds of evidence, particularly the former, must be, and in many cases have been, corrected and modified by the researches of anthropology and archæology. There is no occasion for either class of observers to ignore or depreciate the other's work. The future progress of history depends upon the double light brought to bear upon it by the

cultivation of the literary methods on the one hand and the scientific methods on the other.

There is much to be said in favour of Mr. Malden's plan for making genealogies more complete with a view to the study of character, both mental and physical. Many traits found in prominent individuals might often thus be traced to a more or less remote ancestor in the female line. There appeared, however, to be an assumption running through Mr. Malden's paper that, on an average, every person inherits in about equal degrees the characters of his (or her) two parents. This is by no means the case, as may be clearly shown by numerous examples from history, from physiology, and from general observation. He should be far from saying that character always comes down in a direct male line; but there are, almost inevitably, certain influences which predominate over others, and these influences *may* continue to manifest themselves on the male side for many generations. This being the case, the argument from composite photographs, as employed by Mr. Francis Galton, is not only useless, but positively misleading, for it undoubtedly premises this equal division of character.

1. *Physiological Deviations.*—Sir Alfred Garrod, a well-known authority on 'gout,' mentions the case of a gentleman who can trace this disease in his family in a direct male line for 400 years. It came, not by reversion to an early and half-forgotten type, nor even alternately, but without a single intermission to each eldest son. It was developed too at an early age, and was not, therefore, the result of individual excesses.

Four hundred years means twelve generations. If, therefore, there exists, as is supposed, a tendency to equal division, the original gouty diathesis must in the course of 400 years have been divided by two twelve times, leaving to the present possessor the small share of $\frac{1}{4096}$, an amount which would be hardly discernible.

In an interesting series of papers by Dr. Douglas Lithgow recently published in the 'Provincial Medical Journal,' entitled 'From Generation to Generation,' allusion is made to a case recorded by Lancissins. It was that of a man with enlargement of the right side of the heart, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather suffered in precisely the same manner. Dr. Lithgow himself, as he mentions in the same article, is left-handed, a peculiarity which has descended in a direct male line for four generations. In both these cases an equal division would leave, in the last of the series, the original tendency reduced to $\frac{1}{8}$, and therefore almost inevitably obliterated.

2. *History.*—He had before alluded to the striking resemblance in character borne by Charles I. of England to his ancestor James I. of Scotland. This character passes through seven generations. An equal division, therefore, would bring it down to $\frac{1}{128}$; this being modified by one intermarriage with a Stuart leaves only $\frac{1}{64}$, a subdivision of the original type which would hardly be recognisable. Yet the likeness is unmistakable. Both were enthusiastic lovers of the fine arts, industrious, refined, and domesticated, yet both were constantly in determined and fatal opposition to the most powerful of their subjects. The only fresh element in Charles I.'s character appears to be his duplicity, which he clearly inherited from Margaret Tudor, the daughter of Henry VII.

The pedigree chosen by Mr. Malden as a specimen could, he thought, be shown not altogether to corroborate his views. Admitting that the character of Richard III. might, in a general way, be synthetically produced by selections from various roots on both sides of the family tree, it appeared to him that we should arrive at a much more definite and accurate estimate if we considered it as an exact but intensified copy of his father's. All the qualities of Richard, his great talents, his military capacity, his ambition, his far-sightedness, his unscrupulousness, his hypocrisy, his disregard for human life, are seen in a more or less developed form in the character of Richard, Duke of York. On the other hand, the Neville character, which Richard ought to have inherited from his mother, is conspicuous by its absence. The Earl of Warwick, who may be looked upon as the type of the Neville family, is as far removed from Richard in character as it is possible for two men, living in the same age and under similar surroundings, to be. Warwick, although he changed his principles more than once, did so, not from ambition, but from conviction. In one instance, at least, he did so against his own interest. His springs of action were of a different class from those of Richard.

As an instance removed from all royal surroundings, the genealogy of Edmund Kean, the actor, is not without interest. Macaulay, in his 'History of England,' is at some pains to show that Kean inherited his talent from the Marquis of Halifax. This, of course, was through his mother, the daughter of George Carey. The talent of Halifax descended, there is no doubt, to his illegitimate son, Henry Carey,[1] who distinguished himself both as dramatic author and musical composer. George Carey inherited in some degree his father's talent, and was also known both as writer and composer. The talent of Kean, however, was of a different order. The Careys

[1] Author and composer of the song, 'Sally in our Alley.

were originative, Kean was reproductive. The talent of the actor consists in the power of receiving and reproducing impressions, and is distinct from that of the original producer. Admitting that Kean inherited a certain degree of brain-power from his mother's family, the special gifts that made him a great actor were those of receptivity and exposition, and these existed in a less developed form in at least one member of his *father's* family, who was well known as a mimic and ventriloquist.

3. *General Observation.*—Popular opinion is in many instances, as Mr. Malden admits, the expression of observed facts. In this case popular opinion, rightly or wrongly, constantly attributes certain mental and physical characteristics to certain families. Those who were acquainted with English Huguenot families would, he thought, agree with him that there is still in most instances more of the French character about them than is warranted by the small share ($\frac{1}{64}$) which is their legitimate allowance after a residence of 200 years (six generations) in this country. The pedigree of our Norman aristocracy is, perhaps, too uncertain and remote to form a basis for accurate observation. Two of our noble families, however, are known to have come over from Holland 200 years ago with William III. The Duke of Portland he had never seen, but the Earl of Albemarle, whom he had seen several times, is almost as pure a Dutchman as his early ancestor can have been.

One of the factors which is constantly causing a deviation from the bilateral equality of inheritance is the influence which in the great majority of cases is exerted by man over woman. This, of course, is liable to exceptions, but it is nevertheless the rule that on an average a woman becomes in many important respects assimilated to her husband, and that part of this assimilated character is transmitted to their offspring. An instance of this on the physical side is seen in the well-known fact, observed and recorded by Nott ('Types of Mankind'), that a negro woman, who has once borne mulatto children to a white man, will, if afterwards married to a negro, continue to bear mulatto instead of black children. This is only one of numerous examples bearing on the same fact. Another factor not to be lost sight of is the essential difference between men and women in their modes of thought. This difference begins to manifest itself in early childhood, when boys instinctively reject those sources of amusement which occupy the minds of girls in favour of others of a more masculine character; it continues throughout life to old age, and serves to break the continuity of certain traits of character when they descend in the female line.

It would even appear that Mr. Galton is hardly able to free himself from the habit of attributing some special importance to paternal descent. In his work on 'Hereditary Genius,' he condemns the celibacy of the clergy in the Roman Catholic Church on account of its depriving future generations of the influence for good which would presumably be exercised by their descendants if the priests became fathers of families. In this connection it is essential to bear in mind the fact that *acquired* characteristics are transmitted from generation to generation as well as inherited ones. It is a well-established physiological fact that new or incipient qualities may be developed by cultivation, and others may disappear from want of use. Indeed, as Ribot says, if the evolutionary theory be established, *all* instincts must have been acquired, and it is by accumulation through succeeding generations that they are formed and stereotyped. A familiar example of such a process affecting a *nation* is perhaps seen in the remarkable manner in which the word, as well as the idea of, 'duty' has fastened itself upon the minds of Englishmen. It was observed to be always the prominent idea in the dispatches of Wellington; it is known to have been so in the life of Nelson; and it has been observed by foreign writers to be constantly the prevailing thought in all assemblies of Englishmen. This result is attributed by so eminent an educational authority as Bishop Temple to the impression made by the Church Catechism on successive generations. Some such solution may perhaps be given to the problem suggested by Emerson. 'According to Tacitus,' he says, '"the Germans were powerful only in sudden efforts, impatient of toil and labour." Such people would never have built London. I know not from which race they get their patience and tenacity, but they clinch every nail they drive.' Might not this quality too have been acquired? It was not derived from the Celts, hardly from the Danes and Normans.

The Chairman (Mr. Hyde Clarke), in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Malden, said the subject treated by him was of much scientific interest. In it he himself had been concerned, having treated the question of heredity when Mr. Francis Galton and himself had been regarded as holding unphilosophical doctrines. He dissented, however, from Mr. Galton as to composite photographs. He regarded them as a fallacy, assimilating indeed to a statistical average, which was not a fact but an artificial treatment of facts. However plausible it appeared at first sight to assume *à priori* an equal influence of the male and female parent or ancestor, practically it did not accord with what

we could observe. Mr. Oscar Browning had very well said that William Pitt was a Grenville rather than a Pitt, but that statement would not meet the case of the elder brother, the Earl of Chatham. It was no uncommon thing to observe in a family four sons or four daughters unlike each other, but who might be traced severally to each of the four grandparents. So far from following the supposed law of equal partition of the properties of parents, there was the greatest inequality of participation and of succession. It was quite possible that properties could be manifested in this generation which had been manifested centuries ago in one ancestor. It might be that Mr. Malden's elucidation of the properties of ancestors might guide them to the real law, always taking into due account such facts as those already cited. If a man had 16 several ancestors he would undoubtedly be in a different position from one who by accumulation had only 14, 12, 10, or 8. By analogy with other branches of science different combinations would be formed, for whereas the 16 ancestors would be a, b, c, d, e, f, &c., those having common ancestors would form groups of $a+a$, $a+b$, $a+c$, $b+a$, $b+c$, &c. Thus the whole physiological arrangements might be altered, just as chemical combinations are affected by the arrangements of their atoms, and in biology there was good ground for regarding with attention the combinations of male and female elements in the individual. With regard to the application of similar tests to ethnological types there appeared to be a deficiency of material. It was impossible to ascertain in a tribe, as in a family, the proportion of contributory elements; indeed, it was impossible to tell what tribes had a permanent share in the future nation, and which had merely a temporary influence. Writers were fond of supposing that the Romans in Britain, whatever they really were, had a necessary share in the ancestry of the English people. Nothing was more doubtful, for the Romans died off in battles, civil feuds, monasteries, nunneries, &c., and became extinct in various ways. A large share had been attributed to the Celts on account of the extent of the Welsh language, yet undoubtedly we had to allow instead a larger balance to the preceding Iberian element still recognisable. On the other hand, the Norman element, chiefly that of male immigrants, appeared to have exercised and to hold to this day a much greater active influence than had been theoretically conceived. In all respects, however, it was impossible not to regret the paucity of genealogical material to which Mr. O. Browning had pertinently referred. It was to be hoped those observations would meet with attention. The chief collections were in

private hands, and it would be very useful if they were made available by this appeal. Although much labour had been devoted to male descent, there was, however, much on female descent, either in relation to baronies by tenure or the doctrine of female descent set up by Sir Egerton Brydges. With regard to the weight placed by Mr. Malden on the circumstances of military occupation or of death by beheading, that was rather of an accidental nature than a characteristic.

PRINCE HENRY OF MONMOUTH—HIS LETTERS AND DESPATCHES DURING THE WAR IN WALES.

1402–1405.

By FREDERICK SOLLY FLOOD, Q.C., M.A. Camb., F.R.Hist.S.
(late H.M. Attorney-General at Gibraltar).

(*Read* January 1888.)

'THE Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoign,' read at a meeting of the Royal Historical Society in November 1885,[1] contained a brief, but only a brief sketch of the military career of that illustrious prince during the war in Wales. But though for the purpose which the writer had in view it was necessary to trace the prince's movements and his actions as described in contemporaneous official documents, want of space precluded the possibility of a transcript of any part of the correspondence, memoranda, or records therein referred to. It is proposed now to partially supply that omission by means of a translation of all the few letters and despatches of the prince himself during the war which are extant. They are all in the French language. It may be reasonably expected that the letters and despatches of anyone giving an account of great deeds in which he himself was a partaker would be found full of deep interest, and a sense of disappointment cannot fail to be felt on learning that those of Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales, are only six in number. It is only to the marvellous industry and research of Sir Robert Cotton, two hundred years after they were written, that we owe the discovery and preservation of any of them, and to the labours of the Record Commission perfected by Sir Harris Nicolas that we owe a print of these,

[1] Reprinted and published, Longman, Green, and Co., 8vo., 1886.

and a vast number of other most valuable documents during the period commencing 10 Richard II., A.D. 1386, and ending with few exceptions 38 Henry VI., A.D. 1461, published in 1834, and which will be quoted for the sake of brevity by the title of 'Acts of Council.' The prince's letters and despatches are among those preserved in the Cottonian MSS., Cleopatra T. III., collected by Sir Robert Cotton, but from what depositaries they were taken has not been discovered. Sir Harris Nicolas tells us in his Preface,[1] 'that they must originally have been deposited among the public archives scarcely admits of a doubt; and, if an opinion can be formed from their present appearance, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that they were dispersed in consequence of one of the many political convulsions to which this country has been exposed.'

This collection obviously comprises a lamentably small portion of the documents of the same character which once existed, but the residue of which is now lost for ever. The six letters and despatches of the prince still extant are but a small part of a series commencing with the outbreak of the war in Wales, and not concluded until after its termination; of these it is very doubtful whether we have the first which was written, and certainly we have not the last. Let our disappointment, however, give way to thankfulness that the whole series has not perished while we spend a little half-hour over the few letters and despatches which we possess from the pen of the prince during the campaigns in which he was engaged in his boyhood and early youth, and who lived to shed at Agincourt a glory upon the arms of England which never has been surpassed.

King Henry IV. had not been a year on the throne before he issued a proclamation,[2] dated September 13, 1400, notifying the existence of rebellion in Wales. On the 30th of the following November he issued another proclamation[3] offering 'protection, safety, and defence to

[1] *Acts of Council*, i. preface, viii.
[2] *Rot. Viag.*, 1 Hen. IV., m. 1. 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 159.
[3] *Rot. Pta.*, 2 Hen. IV., p. 1, m. 14. 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 167.

all the Welsh lately in insurrection who should make their submission at Chester in the presence of his most dear son, Henry Prince of Wales.' From this we learn that the prince, then only thirteen years of age, had entered on active service, but whether or not he had participated in the operations in the field by which the then late insurrection had been, as the king thought, subdued, cannot be discovered. The rebellion soon broke out afresh, and accordingly we find from a despatch [1] of Henry Percy (Hotspur), dated April 10, 1401, that he, who was then Warden of the East toward Scotland and Justice of North Wales and Scotland, as well as Constable of the Castles of Chester, Conway, and others, was contemplating the recapture of the Castle of Conway, then in the possession of the rebels, and that the prince was with him. In another despatch [2] to the council, dated at Carnarvon, May 4, he says that 'North Wales was then obedient, with the exception of the rebels in the Castle of Conway, and Rees, who is in the mountains, who will be very well chastised, if God pleases, by the force and governance which my redoubtable lord the prince had sent there, as well as of his council as his retinue, to lay siege to the rebels in the said castle, which siege, if it could be continued until the said rebels be taken, would cause great ease and profit to the governance of the said territory in time to come.' Conway Castle was taken, and an indenture of treaty [3] was in consequence executed jointly by the prince and Henry Percy of the first part, and the forces engaged in the siege of the other part. The prince was associated for some short time further with Henry Percy; hence all the despatches from the seat of war till the end of that short time, namely from April 1, 1401, to June 4 in the same year,[4] and one of a somewhat later but uncertain date,[5] are those of Henry Percy.

[1] *Acts of Council*, i. 148.

[2] *Acts of Council*, i. 150.

[3] *Acts of Council*, i. 145.

[4] *Acts of Council*, i. 148, April 10, 1401; *Acts of Council*, i. 150, May 4, 1401; *Acts of Council*, i. 151, May 17, 1401; *Acts of Council*, i. 152, June 4, 1401.

[5] *Acts of Council*, ii. 57.

The earliest letter or despatch from Prince Henry himself now extant is a despatch to the council dated at Shrewsbury, May 15,[1] 'apparently,' says Sir Harris Nicolas, 'in 3 Hen. IV., 1402;' a date which is confirmed by a comparison of a passage which it contains with the minutes of a council held in November 1401,[2] and also of another passage in it, with a letter[3] therein alluded to addressed to the king by the community of Osterode and Westerode in Friedland, dated May 26 in the same year, and brought before the council by Lord Grey of Codenore on August 30 following, and again brought before the council in the month of November in the same year.[4] The prince in November 1401 was in command at his own expense of a small force stationed at Carmarthen,[5] and his first great military achievement, of the details of which we have any knowledge, took place in May 1402, when he was but a boy of 14¾ years of age, and which gave occasion for a despatch from him,[6] of which the following is a translation:

Prince Henry of Monmouth to the Council, May 15, 1402.

By the Prince.

Most dear and most entirely well beloved, We greet you very often from our whole heart in thanking you most dearly for the good consideration which you have in our absence for the wants which touch us, and we pray you most earnestly for your good and amiable continuance [of the same] as our trust is in you; and by way of news of things which have happened, if you wish to know, among other things we were lately informed that Oweyn de Glendordy caused to assemble his force of other rebels and of his adherents, a great number, purposing to override, and also to fight, if the English people should resist his purpose, and thus he boasted to his people; whereupon we took our people and went to a place of the said Oweyn, well built, which was his principal mansion called Sagherñ, where we supposed that we should have found him if he had been willing to have fought in manner as he said; but upon our arrival there we found no one; hence we caused the whole place and many other

[1] *Acts of Council*, ii. 61.
[2] *Acts of Council*, i. 173.
[3] *Ex autogr.* 8 Rymer, 193.
[4] *Acts of Council*, i. 175.
[5] *Acts of Council*, i. 174.
[6] *Acts of Council*, ii. 61.

houses of his tenants in the neighbourhood to be burnt, and then went direct to his other place of Glendourdy to seek for him there. We caused a fine lodge in his park to be burnt, and all the country thereabout, and we lodged there at rest all that night; and some of our people went thence into the country and took a great gentleman who was one of the chieftains of the said Oweyn, who offered five hundred pounds for his ransom to save his life, and to have paid the said sum within two weeks; however, this was not accepted and he was put to death, as were several other of his companions who were taken on the same day; and then we went into the Commote of Dedirnyon in [the county] of Merioneth, and there we caused a fine well inhabited country to be burnt; and then we went into Powis and [being] in want of food for the horses, we made our people carry oats with them, and we lodged for . . . days; and in order to inform you more fully of that day's work and of all other news of things that have happened, We at once send to you our very dear esquire, John de Waterton, to whom be pleased to accord full faith and credence in what he shall report touching the news aforesaid. And may our Lord have you always in his holy keeping. Given under our signet at Shrewsbury, the 15th day of May.

The next letter or despatch from the prince is also a despatch addressed by him to the council and dated at Shrewsbury on the 30th of the same month of May, 1402.

Most dear and entirely well beloved, We greet you very often;[1] and because that our soldiers desired to know if they will be paid for the third month of the present quarter, and tell us that they will not wait here unless they are soon paid their wages according to their indentures, we pray you very dearly that you will order our payment for the said month, or otherwise let us know, and to take order promptly for the safety of these Marches, for the rebels hear every day if we are paid, and they know well that without payment we cannot continue; and they strive to raise all the force of North Wales and of South Wales to override and destroy the March and the counties adjoining thereto; and there is no resistance here, so that they can well accomplish their malice; and when our men shall have retreated from us, it is necessary by all means that we should retreat into England, there to be disgraced for ever, for every man can know well enough that without a body of men we can do no more than any other man could of lower estate; and at present we

[1] *Acts of Council*, ii. 62.

have very great expenses, and have made all the pawning we are able of our little jewels to defray them, for two of our castles, Hardelagh [1] and Lampadern, [2] are besieged and have been for a long time, and we must rescue and provision them within ten days; and besides defend the March around us with the third body against the entry of the rebels. Nevertheless if this war could be continued, the rebels were never so likely to be destroyed as they are at present; and now that we have plainly shown the state of these parts, be pleased to order in such manner as seems to you best for the safe defence of these parts and this portion of the kingdom of England, which may God be pleased to preserve and give you grace to order the better in future. And may our Lord have you in his keeping. Given under our signet, at Shrewsbury, the 30th day of May. And be pleased to be well advised that we have well and fully shown you the peril which may happen whatsoever thing may come hereafter if remedy be not sent in time.

No remedy is known to have been sent until the king wrote to his council on November 8, 1403.[3] Nevertheless, the castles of Hardelagh (Harlech) and Lampadern (Aberystwith) resisted every attack for nearly two years at the least. The former is not known to have been taken,[4] the latter certainly fell at last into the hands of the rebels and was retaken by the prince in the autumn of 1405.[5] In the meantime, the king decided to make a supreme effort to quell the rebellion, and issued proclamations, dated July 31, 1402,[6] commanding all his subjects liable to military service in certain counties to meet himself at Shrewsbury on August 27, those in certain other counties to meet the Earls of Stafford and Warwick at Hereford on the same day, and those in certain other counties to meet the prince at Chester on the same day.

On examining the Patent and Close Rolls which record the movements of the king, we find that he did not go to

[1] Now called Harlech.

[2] Meaning the castle of Aberystwith, in the parish of Lampadern.

[3] *Acts of Council*, i. 219.

[4] *Acts of Council*, i. 221.

[5] *Rot. Viag.*, 6 Hen. IV., m. 10; 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 419, and MSS. St. Albani, Hen. IV., miscopied as 8 Hen. IV. in 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 497.

[6] *Rot. Cl.*, 3 Hen. IV., p. 2, m. 6d.; 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 272.

Shrewsbury, as he had intended to do, and that on August 27 he was at Westminster. The forces ordered to meet him on that day, and those ordered to meet the Earls of Stafford and Warwick and other lords on the same day at Hereford, apparently never assembled. At all events, they did not take the field, and the war was prosecuted by the prince, who, on March 7 following, was appointed by the king his Lieutenant and Governor of Wales and commander-in-chief of his forces there,[1] being then aged fifteen years and seven months only. He soon achieved great successes there, the details of which he sent home in letters to his father, as appears by a letter from the king to his council, dated at Higham Ferrers, July 10, 1403,[2] but which are some of those which are unfortunately no longer extant. We must therefore content ourselves with an extract from the king's letter, in which he says:

> We salute you often, making you to know that we have heard as well by the contents of certain letters of our most dear and most beloved son the prince, presented to us by our well-beloved Master William Fereiby, Chancellor, and John de Waterton, esquire of our same son, as by their report, the good exploit of our said son in the parts of Wales, from which we have thus received very great pleasure. We will and pray and charge you, that to the end that our said son may be able the better to continue to resist the malice of our Welsh rebels, as he has well commenced, to the honour of us and of our kingdom, which he could not do unless he have the means, that you make order to immediately on sight of these presents that our said son be paid [the sum] of one thousand pounds in manner which was lately by you appointed and agreed, and that of the remainder ordered [to be paid] to him for the said cause you cause to be provided payment as hastily as possible in any way to be made, to the end that he may be able to keep together his people who are on the point of leaving him for default of payment of their wages as we are informed. . . . We command you that you give firm credence to that which our beloved esquire John Wodehouse will tell you on our behalf as to the informations which he has to give you on behalf of our said son and of exploit.

[1] *Rot. Pat.*, 4 Hen. IV., p. 2, m. 32. *8* Rym. *Fœd.* 291.
[2] *Acts of Council*, i. 106.

The battle of Shrewsbury was fought on July 21, 1403,[1] in which the king as well as the prince are said to have exhibited prodigies of valour, and the latter is said to have been seriously wounded, but, most unfortunately, no letters or despatches describing that event are extant.

On June 26, 1404, the prince sent the following most interesting letter[2] to his father:

My most Redoubtable and most Sovereign Lord and Father, most humbly and most obediently that I know or can I recommend myself to your very high lordship, humbly requesting always your gracious blessing, and very entirely thanking your very noble highness for your very honourable letters which it has pleased you to send to me, written from your Castle of Pomfret the 21st day of this present month of June, by which letters I have heard of the good prosperity of your high and royal estate, which is to me the greatest joy which could happen to me in this world, and I have derived very sovereign pleasure and entire joy from the news which it has pleased you to certify me, firstly, from the hasty arrival before your highness of my very dear cousin the Earl of Northumberland, and of William Clifford, and secondly from the arrival of messages from your Adversary of Scotland, and of other great men of his kingdom, by virtue of your safe conduct for the good of both kingdoms, which may God of his mercy grant, and that you may be able to accomplish all your honourable desires for his pleasure, your honour, and the profit of your kingdom, as I have firm trust in that which the Almighty will do to you. My most Redoubtable and most Sovereign Lord and Father, at your high commandment by your other gracious letters, I have removed with my little household to the town of Worcester, and at my request there is come with me in very good heart my very dear and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Warwick, with a fine company of his people, at his very great expense, for which he is well worthy to be well thanked by you for his good will at all times. And as for news of the Welsh, whether they are true, and what measures I have taken upon my march, of which you desire to be ascertained, may it please your highness to learn that before my march, and while on the way, I was lately certified that the Welsh had descended into the county of Hereford, burning and destroying the said county in very great

[1] 'The account of this battle in Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury* (vol. i., pp. 185-195) is remarkable for ability and research '—Sir Harris Nicolas's Preface to *Acts of Council*, i. liii.

[2] *Acts of Council*, i. 229.

force, and were provisioned for 15 days, and it is to be seen that they have burnt and made great destruction in the borders of the said county, but since my arrival in the country I hear of no injury which they are doing, thank God; but I am certainly informed that they are assembled with all the force which they can raise, and hold themselves together for a great purpose, and according to what is said, to burn the said county, and therefore I am sending to my very dear and well-beloved cousins, my Lords Richard of York,[1] and the Earl Marshal, and other most sufficient people of the county from this March with me at Worcester on Thursday after the date of these [presents] to inform me fully of the governance of their territories, and how many people they can raise if there be means, and to show me their advice touching that which seems to them the best course for the safe defence of the above mentioned parts; and with their advice I will raise all that is possible for me in resistance of the rebels and salvation of the English territories to the very best of my small power according as God shall give me grace, always trusting in your very high lordship that you will be pleased to remember my poor estate and that it is not in my power to continue here unless something different be ordered for my stay, and that these expenses are intolerable for me to bear; and be pleased so to order for me in haste, so that I may be able to do service here for your honour, and save my small estate. My most Redoubtable and most Sovereign Lord and Father, may the Almighty Lord of Heaven and Earth grant you very gracious and long life and very good prosperity for your pleasure. Written at Worcester, the 26th day of June.

Your humble and obedient son,

HENRY.

The prince also wrote to the council on the same day a separate despatch,[2] of which the following is a translation:

By the Prince.

Most dear and of our whole heart well beloved, We greet you very often in signifying that at the high commandment of the king our most Redoubtable Lord and Father, lately by his gracious letters, we have removed with our household to the town of Worcester to succour according to our power his loyal lieges of those parts who are greatly harassed and damaged day and night by the rebels; and with us at our request our very dear and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Warwick of very good heart, has arrived with a fine company

[1] Afterwards Earl of Cambridge.

[2] *Acts of Council*, i. 231.

of people, for which he is worthy to be well thanked by our said Lord and Father, of which and of all his good will at all times and before our march towards these parts and upon our march by the way, we were certified on the part of the gentlemen and commonalties of the county of Hereford, that the Welsh rebels had descended into the said county with all the force of South Wales and North Wales which they could raise, amounting to a great number of people, provisioned for 15 days, burning and destroying the same county; and it is to be seen how the rebels have made great burnings and destructions in the borders of the said country; but since my arrival we hear of no injury which they do, thank God; but we are certainly informed that they are assembled with all the force which they can raise, and hold themselves already together for a great purpose, and according to what is said, to burn and destroy the said county. So we have sent to our most dear and well-beloved cousins, my Lords Richard of York, and the Earl Marshal, and others of the most sufficient people of this March, that they should be with us on Thursday next after the date of these presents, to inform us fully of the governance of their territories and how many people they can raise if there be means, and to show to us their advice touching that which seems to them the best course for the safe defence of the said parts; and by their advice we will do all that is possible for us in resistance of the rebels and salvation of the English territories to the very best of our small power, knowing how God will give us grace; always confiding in the high lordship of the king our said Lord and Father, and of you who are of his council, that you will be pleased to consider our poor estate, and that it is not in our power to continue here unless something different be ordered for our stay, for these expenses are intolerable for us to bear; and be pleased to order for us in haste, so that we may be able to do honour and service to our Lord and Father above mentioned, profit to the kingdom, and to save our estate; understanding that we have nothing here except what we have put in pawn, our little vessels and jewels, with which we have obtained a loan of money, and with which we can continue but a short time, and afterwards if you do nothing for us it is necessary for us to depart with disgrace and mischief, and the territory will be wholly lost, which may God not suffer now that we have declared the perils and mischiefs; for God's sake make your order in time for the salvation of the honour of the king our above mentioned Lord and Father, and of us and of all the kingdom. And may our Lord preserve you and give you grace to act well.

Given under our signet at Worcester, the 26th day of June.

The dangers by which the young prince was surrounded made him send by the hand of a special messenger, his esquire Raulyn de Brayllesford, another letter to the king only four days afterwards, and also a despatch to the council,[1] but the latter is the only one which is extant. The following is a translation of it.

By the Prince.

Most dear and of our whole heart well beloved, We greet you very often, and We let you know that we are sending at present to our most Redoubtable Lord and Father our very dear and well-beloved esquire Raulyn de Brayllesford, with certain letters of credence touching the governance of these parts, which credence we have charged him to report to you, beseeching you most dearly that on the arrival of the said Raulyn you will be pleased to hear him and to excite and move our said most Redoubtable Lord and Father thereupon to order by your sage advice such remedy in such haste as can be the salvation of his royal estate and of his kingdom : understanding that without other ordinance we cannot in any manner continue here, as the said Raulyn will know plainly to report to you ; to whom be pleased to give firm credence in that which he will show on our part in the need above mentioned. Most dear and of our whole heart well beloved, may the Lord have you in his holy keeping.

Given under our signet, the last day of June.

These urgent appeals to the council seem to have been successful. They made orders[2] that the prince should be supplied with men and some money, and also, upon a representation made by the sheriff and gentry of the county of Hereford, that he should be thanked for his good defence of the county of Hereford and also for the salvation of that county and the county of Gloucester, be ordered to defend the Marches of those counties and to override Overwent and Netherwent, Glamorgan and Morgannoh, and in order to enable him to do so that provision should be made for the wages of 500 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers for three weeks, and for 300 men and

[1] *Acts of Council*, i. 233.

[2] Minutes of a council held August 29, 1404 (*Acts of Council*, i. 235), and minutes of another council apparently held on the following day (*Acts of Council*, i. 236).

2,000 archers for three more weeks. What further provision they made for the payment of these troops is not known, but how faithfully and effectually the prince obeyed the orders thus given may be learnt from his next communication, a letter addressed to his father[1] dated March 11, 1404–5, of which the following is a translation:

My most Redoubted and most Sovereign Lord and Father. Most humbly that I know in my heart to think I recommend myself to your Royal Majesty, humbly requesting your gracious blessing. My most Redoubtable and most Sovereign Lord and Father, I verily pray that God may show for you his miraculous power[2] in all parts. Praised be he in all his works; for Wednesday, the 11th day of this present month of March, your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannoh, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, were assembled to the number of 8,000 people by their own account, and went the same Wednesday in the morning and burnt part of your town at Grosmont within your lordship of Monmouth, and went forth immediately my most dear cousin le sire de Talbot and my small body of my household, and to them assembled your faithful and valiant knights William Newport and Johan Greindre, who were but a very small force in all; but it is well to be seen that victory is not in the multitude of people, and this was well shown there, but in the power of God; and there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your people held the field and conquered all the said rebels, and killed of them according to loyal account in the field up to the time of their return of the pursuit, some say eight hundred, some say a thousand, at the peril of their lives; whether it be the one or the other in number, I will not contend. And in order to inform you fully of all that is done, I send you a man of credibility in this case, my loyal servant the bearer of these [presents] who was at the feat and did his duty most faithfully as he has done on all occasions. And such amends has God granted to you for the burning of your houses in your above mentioned town. And of prisoners there was taken only one, and he was lately a great chieftain among them, and whom I would have sent but that he is not yet able to ride at his ease. And touching the government which I propose to effect after these [events], may it please your highness to vouchsafe full credit to the bearer of these presents in that which he will show to your same highness on my part. And I pray to God that he may preserve you

[1] *Acts of Council*, i. 248.

[2] *Son miracle* in original.

always in joy and honour, and grant to me that I may [be able to] solace you speedily with other good news. Written at Hereford, the said Wednesday in the night.

Your most humble and obedient son,

HENRY.

To my most Redoubtable and most Sovereign Lord and Father.

The king sent a copy of this letter immediately to the council, together with one from himself,[1] of which the following is a translation :

By the King.

Most dear and faithful. We salute you often ; and for this that we know well that you are well pleased and joyous at all times when you can hear good news of things which touch the preservation of our honour and estate, and especially the common good and honour of all our kingdom, We send you for your consolation a copy of a letter sent to us by our most dear son the prince, touching his government of the Marches of Wales, and the news of him, by which copy you will be able to know the same news, for which we give thanks to our Lord God, while praying that you will notify these news to our most dear and faithful the mayor and good people of our City of London, in order that they may take consolation with us and praise Him our Creator, who [I pray] may have you always in his holy keeping. Given under our signet, the 13th day of March.

Indorsed : The day's work [2] of my lord the prince, done by the prince against the Welsh in the month of March, in the year etc. sixth.

This victory of the prince was gained by him when of the age of seventeen years and seven months only. He followed it up until he accomplished the submission of the Welsh chieftains on the field of Lampadern, before Aberystwith Castle, on September 12 in the same year, witnessed by indenture of treaty of date for the surrender of that castle between October 24 and November 1 then next. This indenture was made[3] on that

[1] *Acts of Council*, i. 248. [2] *La journée*, literally *the day's work*.

[3] 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 497. The date of this indenture, as printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, from a copy of Walsingham's not now extant, is September 12, 8 Hen. IV. The date of the king's proclamation of the same events, as printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 419, from the *Rot. Viag.*, is September 22, 6 Hen. IV. It is obvious that one or other of these year-dates is erroneous. In every other respect the facts stated in the indenture and the proclamation, namely, that

day, in the most solemn form, between the prince himself of the one part, and Rees ap Gruffith ap Lluellin ap Jenkin, alias Rees ap Lluellin, Cadagan Redduruch ap Thomas, Heire Ewyn, Master Ludovicus Mone, Jenkin ap Griffith, Rees ap David ap Gruffith ap Jenkin, Gruffith ap David ap Jenkin ap Madok, Meredith ap Rees ap Roderagh, Owen ap Gruffith ap Jenkin Blount of the other part, sworn upon the special body of the Lord which they and each of them received, administered by the hands of the Venerable Richard Courtenay, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the presence of the noble men, Edward, Duke of York, Richard, Earl of Warwick, John, Lord of Furnevale, Thomas, Baron of Karrew, John, Lord of Audely, William Bourchier, Francis de Court, William of Harrington, Thomas Gunstan, Roger Lecke, John Seyn, also of John Oldcastle, John Greyndre, John Blount, Richard Rikley, Humfrey Stafford, William Newport, knights, and many other trustworthies, and who also gave hostages for the due observance thereof.

the submission took place at Aberystwith on September 10 in the presence of Richard Courtenay, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that it was proclaimed by the king on the 22nd of the same month, together with his intention to be at Evesham for the purpose of taking command of his troops on October 10 on his march to Aberystwith, and that he was then at Cawode, near York, will be found to provide means for obtaining an infallible test which of the two year-dates is correct and which is erroneous. With that view the Reverend T. Vere Bayne, keeper of the archives of the University, courteously offered to submit to the writer of this paper the archives for examination, and he has most kindly searched them himself and favoured the writer with extracts, but they leave the history of the tenure of the office of Chancellor during the whole period between the death of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, June 8, 1405, 6 Hen. IV. and the end of the regnal year 8 Hen. IV., September 29, 1407, in great uncertainty. Fortunately, however, the official rolls now stored in the Public Record Office contain abundant materials for solving the question, which practically depends upon the evidence which they supply of the king's presence in or absence during the month of September during the years 1405, 1406, and 1407 from the neighbourhood of York, where it is certain that he was when he issued the proclamation. Numerous entries on the *Rot. Viag.*, which has been carefully examined, show that the king spent a considerable period immediately preceding the day on which he issued his proclamation in Yorkshire, and that on the very day before he issued it he was at Bishopsthorpe, within a few miles of Cawode. Now nothing whatever is easier than to learn from other official rolls, the year-date of which is indisputably correct, and on which the King's Acts and the place where transacted are recorded '*Teste me ipso*,' whether the submission of the Welsh

We learn from the king's proclamation [1] issued by him, then being at Cawood in Yorkshire (teste rege apud Cawood juxta Eborūm), on the 22nd of the same month, that the prince immediately notified this great event to his father, but his letter or despatch is not extant. The king recites in his proclamation, that on the part of his most dear son, Henry, Prince of Wales, employed for the castigation of his Welsh rebels, he was certainly informed that certain of those rebels being in the Castle of Lampadern [Aberystwith, in the parish of Lampadern] had made a certain submission to his said son according to the tenor of certain indentures and makes known that, since by that conquest the whole rebellion of the Welsh is in truth to be finished, he intended to be at Evesham on October 10 and at Aberystwith on the 24th, and to proceed thither shortly. He had arrived at Worcester [2] on October 6, and from

rebels and the King's proclamation thereof and his long presence in Yorkshire, as described in the *Rot. Viag.*, could possibly have occurred in the later year attributed to that submission, 8 Hen. IV. 1407, or the intermediate year, 7 Hen. IV., 1406. In the first place two separate and independent official rolls, namely, the Close Roll, commencing on September 30, 1405, 7 Hen. IV. m. 17, and the Rotulus Scotiæ, on which are recorded the King's Acts, relating to Scotland, commencing on the same day, 7 Hen. IV. m. 3, both record the King's presence, on October 6, 1405, at Worcester, within a few miles of Evesham, where he had proclaimed his intention to be on the 10th. Then as to the following years we find from the Patent Roll, 7 Hen. IV. p. 2, that the king, instead of being in Yorkshire in September 1406, spent the whole of that month, and several next succeeding months, at Westminster. During the early part of October in that year he was engaged in negotiations for the prince's marriage and peace with France, and on the 21st of that month proclaimed his intention immediately to invade France in person. (*Rot. Cl.* 8 Hen. IV. m. 35 d.) In the following year also the king never spent a single day either in August or September in Yorkshire (*Rot. Cl.* 8 Hen. IV. mm 5–3) ; and on the 27th of the latter month, instead of being engaged in Welsh affairs and meditating a march at the head of his troops from Evesham to Aberystwith, he was occupied with renewed negotiations for peace with France to the expected ambassadors, from which kingdom he was granted safe conduct on that day (*Rot. Fr.* 8 Hen. IV. m. 4). It seems to be, therefore, absolutely impossible that the year 1407, in the month of September of which the king was so occupied at Westminster, was the year in the month of September of which the submission of the Welsh rebels took place and was proclaimed by the king at Cawode, near York, and to be perfectly certain that the year-date of that event was no other than the 6 Hen. IV. 1405.

[1] *Rot. Viag.*, 6 Hen. IV., m. 10 ; Rym. *Fœd.* viii. 419.

[2] *Rot. Cl.*, 7 Hen. IV., m. 17 ; 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 420. *Rot. Scot.*, 7 Hen. IV., m. 3 ; 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 420.

there he went to Dunstable,[1] where he was on November 3, on his way to Westminster. The Castle of Aberystwith was surrendered, and, with this last achievement of the prince, his services as commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Wales became limited to operations in the mountains of North Wales, for carrying on which his appointment as commander-in-chief was renewed, but during the later years of his father's reign we know that his life was spent in the performance of his various most important duties as guardian of the young Yorkist princes, Warden of the Cinq Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, and Captain of Calais.

The translator is unwilling to offer any remarks of his own upon the letters and despatches of the prince which have survived the ravages of time, but he cannot forbear from inviting attention to the reverence for God, the respectful devotion to his father, and the pure love of his country which they uniformly exhibit. His trust in God and familiarity with His Holy Word are especially manifested in his quotation from the Holy Scriptures contained in his letter to his father of March 11, 1404–5, in which, after giving an account of the great victory over a body of rebels numbering, according to their own account, 8,000, obtained by his own household, to whom were assembled the faithful and valiant knights William Newport, who were but a small force in all, he adds, 'but it is well seen that victory is not in the multitude of people,' and this was well seen there, but in the power of God, and are no less remarkable in this young man than his total abstinence in every one of his letters and despatches from all allusion to those divine agencies, which rightly or wrongly were universally at that time believed by the Church to be influential over the destinies of men and amenable to their supplications, and disbelief in which was treated by the Church as detestable heresy and a sin of the deepest dye. Hence they shed fresh and valuable light upon the true nature of the imaginary enormities[2] which priestly chroniclers under the description

[1] *Rot. Pat.*, 7 Hen. IV., p. 1, m. 29 ; 8 Rym. *Fœd.* 421.

[2] See the *Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoign*, pp. 90 and following pages, as reprinted.

of his having been 'affected by poison,' a common appellation of heresy, attributed to him as characteristic of his early life, and from which they alleged him upon his coming to the throne to have been 'converted by a happy miracle' and cured by 'an antidote,' and to have thus become 'a new man,' and are a further proof of the baselessness of the scandalous imputations upon his character which subsequent authors of works of fiction invented, and with which careless and ignorant writers have even in later years thought fit to corrupt history.

THE CAUSES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

By ARTHUR R. ROPES, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* March 1888.)

I.

THERE are few branches of historical study more interesting than the investigation of the great events in international policy, and their causes—the motives which induced statesmen and sovereigns, and the nations they ruled and guided, to make war and peace and alliance. And few branches of historical study have been, till of late, so much neglected by English workers.

We have often been too insular in our views to understand, not only European history, but even our own. And when we have quitted our own history, it has often been merely in the direction of ancient history and classical antiquity. Now ancient and modern history may be one in purpose and law; but the methods of the worker in the two fields must be entirely different. The student of ancient history has to search for every scrap of doubtful and remote information, he has to expand and comment on the meagre details given by one another, and not seldom he has to fill up considerable gaps with conjectures.

The modern historian, on the other hand, is almost buried under the volume of the chronicles of events, not only by contemporaries, but by the principal actors—not only written for posterity, but for those who expected and exacted the truth. I imagine that if some rough definition of the periods of history be permissible, one might say that ancient history is a commentary on individual historians; mediæval history is the

combination of local chronicles and legal records; and modern history is the summary of national archives.

With such a wealth of archives as we possess, it is strange that only of late has much attention been given here to the international policy of the eighteenth century—a period which might be described as *the* age of diplomacy: a century which the picturesque historian is apt to reject in the lump, because it had no violent convulsions, no religious wars or revolutions, or civil wars of importance, till towards the end. There were great wars and important treaties; but they moved on the commonplace lines of mere fighting and diplomacy. Accordingly, when the picturesque historian, Carlyle, takes Frederick the Great, he gives us an excellent military history, and a fair personal history; but of international history not much, and that mostly inaccurate.

It is perhaps the rather material and almost sordid character generally ascribed to the wars and negotiations of the eighteenth century—mere wrangles for trade, for colonies, for provinces, for superiority which might be discounted in some material coin—that gives it greater value in the eyes of a student of international policy. Just as in the modern competitive commerce of England men come nearest to the 'economic man' of abstract political economy, so in the eighteenth century the nations and their governments came nearest to being abstract 'international beings.'

One of the questions of profoundest interest in this interesting century of foreign policy is the origin of the Seven Years' War.

This war was, next to the War of the Spanish Succession, or without exception, the most important of the century. Probably no one who has read history at all is ignorant of its results—that America and India were to be English, not French; that Prussia was to remain one of the Great Powers; that Russia was to be the standing menace of Central Europe—but not so many reflect that its origin was just as wonderful and important as its results. The war was preceded by a reversal of the political system of Europe, a rupture of old

friendships and extinction of old enmities, such as perhaps had never happened before. Within a few years after Austria and Russia had been the plighted and paid allies of England against France, and Prussia had been the stumbling-block in the way of that alliance, we find the Hapsburg and the Bourbon locked in the closest alliance and uniting to subsidise Russia against Frederick of Prussia—who on his part finds his only help in England. Nay, so sudden is the change, that the very Russian army paid for with French and Austrian gold to fight against Frederick of Prussia, had been raised in the prospect of being paid by England to defend Hanover from his attacks. The whole of this enormous diplomatic revolution was consummated in a year's time.

Down to August 1755 the Powers of Europe stood much as they had done in 1748 at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. In August 1756 the Prussian troops entered Saxony, and the Seven Years' War on the Continent had begun.

It is this transition period that I wish to describe briefly. I cannot pretend to have investigated it fully, but I have at least spent a good deal of time on it; and in any case I am sorry to have to think that even the baldest presentment of the true facts of this period will be in a great measure new to those readers of history who have not studied German works. And it is only of late years that the full facts have been known, even in Germany. What the theory of the origin of the Seven Years' War was in Germany at the time when Carlyle wrote, we may see, allowing for imagination, in Carlyle, who read most of the German works on his subject, but seems to have consulted the English archives but little, and other archives not at all. But since that time we have had a crowd of books, whether original histories or collections of documents, alike in this respect, that they are founded on the archives of the various States. In Carlyle's time hardly any documents of importance were known to the public, but those in the Prussian 'Mémoire Raisonné' and its sequel published in 1756. Now, however, in 1866 came out the compilation by Count Vitzthum, 'Die Geheimnisse des sächsischen

Cabinets,' which, though in its tone a mere party manifesto against Prussia, contains many documents of high importance. This was answered by Schäfer's 'History of the Seven Years' War,' still on the whole the best account of the conflict, and founded largely on the Prussian archives, especially on the despatches of Knyphausen. But by far the most important work on the subject is Von Arneth's great 'History of Maria Theresa,' of which the volume dealing with the years between 1748 and 1756 appeared in 1870. For the first time—as the Vienna archives had previously been closed to research—the whole story of the French and Russian negotiations of Austria was told from the despatches of Starhemberg and Esterhazy. In 1871 the veteran Ranke discussed the question in a masterly little volume, 'Der Ursprung des siebenjährigen Krieges,' and in 1878 came out the 'Memoirs and Letters of Cardinal Bernis,' giving the French side of the famous Austro-French alliance.[1]

On the English side, there are the despatches at the Record Office, which have been consulted by German writers to some extent; and a new body of documents has lately been made available by the gift of the Duke of Newcastle's papers to the British Museum. These I have consulted in part, and hope to do so again; and I have no doubt that the additional information to be derived from them will be found most valuable.

I have called this very imperfect paper 'The Causes of the Seven Years' War,' because it must deal with all those causes briefly, so as to present a connected story; but I desire you to pardon me if I lay more stress on some parts of the story than on others.

I cannot fully discuss all points of the subject without writing a bulky volume; but I wish to enter into a little more detail on matters which I have especially studied, and as to which I may have some hope of adding something, however small, to the knowledge of anyone.

[1] Droysen's monumental *History of Prussian Policy* was indeed broken off at the critical point by his death; but the magnificent edition of Frederick II.'s *Political Correspondence*, on which Droysen's work was founded, is still appearing.

II.

The Seven Years' War was in its origin not an European war at all; it was a war between England and France on Colonial questions with which the rest of Europe had nothing to do; but the alliances and enmities of England and France in Europe, joined with the fact that the King of England was also Elector of Hanover, made it almost certain that a war between England and France must spread to the Continent. I am far from charging on the English Government of the time—for it was they, and not the French, who forced on the war—as Macaulay might do, the blood of the Austrians who perished at Leuthen, of the Russians sabred at Zorndorf, and the Prussians mown down at Kunersdorf. The States of the Continent had many old enmities not either appeased or fought out to a result; and these would probably have given rise to a war some day, even if no black men, to adapt Macaulay again, had been previously fighting on the coast of Coromandel, nor red men scalping each other by the great lakes of North America. Still, it is to be remembered that it was the work of England that the war took place then and on those lines; and in view of the enormous suffering and slaughter of that war, and of the violent and arbitrary proceedings by which it was forced on, we may well question whether English writers have any right to reprobate Frederick's seizure of Silesia as something specially immoral in itself and disastrous to the world. If the Prussians were highway robbers, the English were pirates.

But I wish to dismiss the ethical aspect of the question, and only discuss how and why matters happened as they did. The events have happened; their results have followed. To know how they happened may probably be of great use to us; for in international policy especially, history really repeats itself. To form an elaborate moral estimate of the merits or demerits of persons or policies will not do us any good, and will certainly do our history much harm.

The origin of the war between England and France, if a struggle which had hardly been interrupted since the nominal peace could be said to have an origin, was the struggle for America. France with a sparse handful of colonists held Canada, with the Île Royale, or Cape Breton Island, and Louisiana, which meant little more in actual possession than New Orleans. The strength of these wide dominions lay in a small number of military posts—Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, Quebec, Montreal, Fort Ticonderoga, Fort Niagara, New Orleans. Outside of these there was no real occupation.

England, with a far more numerous body of colonists, held the New England colonies. Further, she had obtained by the Treaty of Utrecht the entire possession of the disputed Newfoundland, and the cession of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, 'according to its ancient limits.' These 'ancient limits' had never been defined by common consent; and the question remained a constant bone of contention. In the so-called War of the Austrian Succession, owing to the peculiar position of England and France as auxiliaries of the nominal belligerents, war was not declared till 1744, when the strength of both parties was drawn off into a useless battle on a question already settled. The one great English success of the war, the capture of Louisburg, was chiefly the work of the colonists themselves; and the place was restored again because of French conquests in the Netherlands. There was thus everything to give rise to a fresh conflict. The boundary question was left as unsettled as ever; and while England had obtained no advantage in the final settlement, she had incidentally, as it were, ruined the French navy and probed the weakness of the French colonies during the war. She had everything to hope, France everything to fear, from a renewal of the colonial conflict.

And yet it was what might plausibly be called a French aggression that brought on the war. The Acadian boundary question smouldered on, giving rise to little fights at times: but what brought on the crisis was, of course, the contest for the Ohio valley.

The French design to link Louisiana with Canada by a chain of forts along Lake Champlain, the Ohio and the Mississippi, was one which with their means at that time and in their exhausted state they could not carry out with practical success; and indeed the chain was never completed, and Fort Duquesne was the furthest point it reached. But the question was none the less vital to the English colonists. This new French chain of forts would be a frontier beyond which New England could not extend. Spain already held Mexico on the south, New Mexico and California on the west, though with weak grip on the Pacific coast. The establishment of the French line meant that the interior of the continent, with its boundless possibilities, was to be the inheritance of the Bourbons.

In 1753 the French spread down into the Ohio valley, and founded Fort Duquesne. In 1754, Colonel Washington with a small force coming to occupy the site, whose capabilities he had before noted, found the French in possession, and after some fighting was compelled to capitulate and withdraw. With this outbreak of hostilities in a new quarter, the question at issue took a more serious form. The French had been ready to yield in India, where by a treaty signed in 1754 all conquests were to be given up, and Dupleix's removal sealed the fate of French empire; but in India it was a trading company, not a national colony, whose fortunes were at stake; and national honour would not permit in America the surrender which alone would satisfy England. Negotiations were actively carried on; but as commissioners had already been sitting at Paris for years to adjust the American boundary, without any result, it was scarcely to be expected that, after blood had been shed, a compromise could be arrived at.

The French and English propositions were in fact incompatible. In the view of the English Government the 'ancient limits' of Acadie included not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia but twenty leagues of coast on the mainland. Further, the southern frontier of Canada was to be regarded as marked

by the St. Lawrence and the great lakes—all beyond was open to English enterprise. The French notions on the subject are summed up in Rouillé's letter to the Duc de Mirepoix, April 13, 1755, in answer to Sir T. Robinson's proposals—a letter which is a sort of ultimatum. France declared that Acadie did not include even all the peninsula, the northern part being necessary for communication in winter between Quebec and Louisburg. Further, the St. Lawrence was in the heart of Canada, not on its border. But for the sake of peace, France would give up the tract between the Alleghanies and the Ohio, and possibly—at least, so I infer from the language used in the despatch—the whole of the Nova Scotia peninsula, but nothing further.

The conflict was one that could not be appeased. The situation on the east coast was intolerable. Nova Scotia rendered Louisburg insecure, and was itself insecure between two French possessions. And the Ohio question was even more vital. The point at issue was not *where*, but *whether*, a French frontier should be allowed to pen in the English colonists. To any and every plan of connecting Canada and Louisiana the English colonies were implacably hostile.

For France the question was quite as serious and vital. The weakness of Canada and Cape Breton Island had been proved in the last war, and was far better known to the French than it could be to their rivals. Hemmed in by Newfoundland, almost divided by Nova Scotia, the Canadian settlements must have some other support. The occupation of a chain of forts down the Ohio and Mississippi would once more piece together the scattered French dominions. Left isolated, and with undefined limits, as they were, it would be easy for England to pick a quarrel on a frontier dispute, and overwhelm the few and widely dispersed colonists of France. The rival colonising nations had met definitely on ground where one must go back. To give up now was for either to give up rivalry with the other.

War, therefore, was probable from the first, and though the French showed a yielding temper in non-essentials, and

at first a slackness in making reprisals, yet there was never any hope of harmonising the opposing claims. Furthermore, as far as England was concerned, there was no wish to avoid the war. The great naval supremacy acquired by England in the last war was again threatened by the reviving French navy. To forestall this rise, to ruin French trade and shipping again, to repeat the stroke at Louisburg with greater success, and not to give any conquest back this time for the Netherlands,—these were the desires of England. George II. shared in the feeling. Robinson, writing to Newcastle, April 9, 1755, says that, when conversing, 'his Majesty doubted whether war was not preferable, France being so low, we so superior at sea, and such alacrity in the whole nation;' and the King had added that 'England would never have such an opportunity.' The most active worker for war, however, seems to have been the Duke of Cumberland. Newcastle himself hoped for peace; but he was too irresolute, too timorous, too much afraid of responsibility, to pronounce boldly for peace.

The only check on the warlike spirit prevalent was the fear of attack on Hanover; and it was with the view of preventing this by forming alliances, or taking defensive measures, that George II. made his usual trip to Hanover, starting April 28, 1755. In his absence, the government devolved on the 'Lords Justices,' with Cumberland at their head; and the warlike temper of some members of the Government, and the current of national feeling, led on to measures which made war inevitable.

Admiral Boscawen, attempting to intercept French reinforcements for Canada, captured only two vessels; and the news of his failure induced the English Government to send out, in July 1755, a fleet, which without declaration of war captured hundreds of French ships. This phase of the dispute need not be gone into. The French demanded redress, and, on refusal, attacked Minorca; and in May and June 1756 both States tardily declared war.

III.

By the summer of 1755, then, war between England and France was inevitable, and its outbreak was only delayed by what the French ministers considered their own moderation, and what others called their pusillanimity. War was certain, and few doubted that it would spread to the Continent. England, superior at sea, was vulnerable through her continental allies, and still more through the electorate of Hanover. France, therefore, would use her great superiority on land to gain advantages which, as in 1748, might be exchanged for colonial losses. She would again reconquer Louisburg in the Netherlands or in Hanover. As against this attack England would naturally revive the alliance of the latter years of the last war, and, with the help of Austria, Holland, and a subsidised Russian army, defend Flanders against the French attacks. Then it was expected by most politicians that Prussia would make a diversion on Austria, as in 1744, and the war would roll on the accustomed lines of the last conflict.

Why was it that, instead of the expected result, an opposite result followed? Why did Austria cast off her old ally, and swear friendship with her hereditary enemy? Why did Prussia give up the French alliance, and league herself with that England with which she had been till lately on the worst of terms—that Hanover whose rival she was in North Germany?

We know the traditional account of the causes of this change. The coalition against Prussia, it would seem, was the work of feminine spite and hatred, and of backstairs intrigues. Madame de Pompadour was resentful of Frederick's rudeness to her, and Louis XV. had suffered from his royal brother's tongue. The Tzaritza Elizabeth, again, had not escaped Frederick's malice; and her displeasure was worked up by Count Brühl, the minister of Augustus III. of Saxony and Poland, with all sorts of false reports, till it reached a

pitch of insane rage. Maria Theresa and her chancellor, Count Kaunitz, played adroitly upon the vanity of Elizabeth and Madame de Pompadour; and by flattering letters from the Empress-Queen to the lady whom Macaulay describes with characteristic vigour, France was won to the coalition. A vast league was schemed against Prussia, its centres being Vienna and Dresden. Frederick, discovering from the Saxon archives the plot against him, tried to shield himself by alliance with England; but, finding it impossible to avert war, suddenly attacked Saxony, and, seizing the Saxon archives, proved from them to the satisfaction of the world that he was justified in thus anticipating attack.

This, with variants, is the legend, due partly to Frederick himself, partly to Duclos, and owing its currency chiefly to the habits of mind of literary observers in the eighteenth century, whose cynical view of society and want of experience of government led them to ascribe great events to small and low causes, and whose cosmopolitan ideas led them to despise international policy and patriotism.

But as the influence of Frederick the Great and his admirers waned, or as the feelings adverse to him and them found expression, a counter theory sprang up, with more of truth in it, and yet with a large admixture of legend. According to this, the coalition against Frederick existed only in his own guilty conscience until he called it into existence by his own unprovoked aggression on Saxony. France did not abandon him till he had first deserted France by making an alliance with England; Saxony had nothing to do with any plot against him; the 'Mémoire Raisonné' of 1756 is a mere tissue of falsifications and strained inferences, and his real reason was probably a desire to annex Saxony and ruin Austria.

On this question we have now fortunately got at the documents, and they disprove one legend almost as completely as the other. It is impossible for me in these narrow limits to go into the whole history as I should wish to do, but I trust I may be able to sketch the negotiations very briefly,

showing particularly how it was that Frederick the Great came to make that Treaty of Westminster with England, which undoubtedly caused the Seven Years' War in Germany.

The war which was impending between England and France was to be a continental war. This, indeed, was not at first certain. Some of the French ministers thought it would be best to limit the French participation in it to the maritime and colonial war; and in spite of their inferiority the French had distinctly the best of the conflict at first, before a skilful direction was given to the English forces. The English Government, relying on eventual success at sea, did not desire a continental war unless the Grand Alliance of Marlborough's time could be revived against France, so as to overpower her by land and sea at once. That Prussia would take France's side, and required to be checked or crushed, was a notion shared by not a few English statesmen; but the alliance was to be turned chiefly against France, and against Prussia no more than was absolutely necessary. If no superior force could be brought against France by land, a continental war ought to be avoided, and the only measures to be taken were those necessary for the defence of Hanover. Thus it seemed that, owing to the ill-success that almost from the first attended the English coalition plans, the war would be what the war of American Independence afterwards was—a conflict at sea and in the colonies between England and France, with the possible intervention of Spain. But though the French ministers were ready enough to abstain from dividing their forces and involving themselves in the maze of German affairs, they had no will to leave Hanover quiet. Joined with their declaration of their intention to limit their efforts to the sea were proposals that the German allies of France, chief of them Prussia, should make an inroad on Hanover and bring George II. to reason. It was this French demand of active co-operation from Frederick that led to the Treaty of Westminster, and thus to the Seven Years' War.

Let us cast a glance at the position of Europe at the time when England and France approached their allies with pro-

posals for co-operation in the impending war, *i.e.* in the spring of 1755.

The chief disturbing cause in Eastern Europe was now the relations of Prussia with the neighbouring Powers. Her position was one acquired suddenly, and by violent means; it was above the resources of the country; it had not been acquiesced in by the rest of Europe. In 1740 Frederick II. had found Prussia a second-rate State, with a first-rate army and a third-rate position in Europe. As the readiest way to redress the balance he seized Silesia, and, failing to gain the province peacefully, allied himself with Bavaria and France to despoil Maria Theresa. In 1742, by English mediation, he deserted his allies, and made the Peace of Breslau, receiving Silesia. In 1744 he again suddenly made war to prevent Austria from violently ousting the Bavarian emperor Charles VII. from his dignity and his dominions, and thus acquiring a decisive superiority in Germany. He succeeded by his diversion in saving Bavaria; but the death of Charles VII. enabled Maria Theresa's husband to secure the Imperial throne constitutionally; and, not being seconded by France, Frederick was exposed to a formidable attack from Austria and Saxony, with Russia preparing to join against him. His victories of 1745, the impossibility of neglecting the war with France and Spain any longer, and English pressure, induced Maria Theresa to make peace at Dresden, and the Austrians returned to the war in the Netherlands and Italy.

Next year, 1746, was made the famous Austro-Russian defensive alliance. This contained a secret article against Prussia, providing for common action if Prussia attacked Austria, Russia, Saxony or Poland, and a most secret article against Turkey. The treaty was acceded to by England, without the secret articles, and the alliance was made the foundation of a treaty by which 37,000 Russians were hired for the war in the Netherlands, where they never came, the menace of their approach being enough to bring peace.

This alliance of St. Petersburg, as a glance at its secret articles shows, was something more than defensive, if less

than offensive. Probably from the first the Russian Government regarded it as a means for crushing the House of Brandenburg at a convenient time.

It would be a great mistake to refer this ill-will of Russia merely to Saxon intrigues or the susceptibilities of a woman. There were two important and more or less permanent elements in it: firstly, that hatred of Germany and Germans which was and is one of the strongest sentiments in the common Russian mind; secondly, the ambition of Russian statesmen to rule Eastern Europe by the enormous power of their country, and make the Baltic in fact, if not in name, a Russian lake. Sweden had gone down before Peter the Great, and was no more formidable. Poland had long been helpless, but in Frederick a new Charles XII. had arisen, who, if he only acted on the defensive towards Russia, was none the less an enemy. Russia, from her situation, had no attack to fear from Frederick; if she contemplated war with him, the attack must come from her side. As early as 1753, a Grand Council of the Russian ministers had settled that a fundamental maxim of Russian policy was to be the abasement of the House of Brandenburg; while almost yearly, after 1748, a Russian army had assembled in Livonia as if to strike at Prussia, or prevent Prussia from helping Sweden. It seemed as if the accession of Adolf Friedrich of Holstein-Eutin, Frederick's brother-in-law, to the throne of Sweden, would involve a general war, but the danger passed by. The Russian hostility, however, only increased with time; and while, as I have shown, there were intelligible reasons for its existence, yet no doubt the Saxon, and still more the Austrian and English influence, contributed to heighten such a feeling.

Austria's feeling towards Prussia was, and necessarily must be, one of implacable hostility. Not only had Frederick II. fallen upon her three times—so Maria Theresa reckoned—treacherously, and torn away one of her fairest provinces, but his hand was still in all the opposition to Austria everywhere. He it was who foiled the election of the Archduke Joseph as king of the Romans, who interfered to prevent any

chance of the restoration of Catholicism in Hesse. But at first the Austrian hostility was so blended with apprehension that Maria Theresa took only defensive measures. She and her counsellors dreaded a Prussian inroad on the slightest pretext or none at all. The Austrian purpose in concluding the alliance of 1746 was probably to be secured against Prussian or Turkish attack in the rear, during the remainder of the war with France and Spain. Frederick, who intended no further aggression, believed the secret article about Prussia to be meant offensively by Austria; but I do not think that was its intention when first concluded.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing; it merely put an end to aimless fighting in Europe. The cause of quarrel between Austria and France had ceased with the election of Francis I. Spain was appeased by the cession of Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip; and before long, the treaty of Aranjuez gave peace to Italy for over forty years. But while France and Austria were not directly opposed, yet indirectly the weight of France was thrown into the scale against Austria as soon as Prussia was concerned in any dispute; for the alliance of France and Prussia, little as each ally trusted the other, was founded on too obvious a community of interest to be allowed to drop. Until this alliance should be broken, not only was it dangerous for Austria to attack Prussia, but, in Maria Theresa's opinion, Austria was not sufficiently secure against attack from Prussia. The alliance with England still continued, but bitter experience had taught the Empress-Queen that England would do little or nothing against Prussia.

The policy generally associated with the name of Kaunitz was to break this Prusso-French alliance, and, if possible, to replace it by an Austro-French alliance. Then, deprived of all support, Frederick of Prussia would have to remain quiet, or, if he moved, could be crushed by the Austro-Russian alliance.

With this end, Kaunitz went as ambassador to Paris after the peace. But two years of effort attained nothing; and so

disheartening was his reception, that in a remarkable memorandum composed in the spring of 1751 he recommended the Empress-Queen to give up Silesia for good and all, and come to an understanding with Prussia. This recommendation found no favour at Vienna, however, and Kaunitz hastened to withdraw his words; but when he returned to take the post of chancellor, he had done nothing except make Austria more popular in French society, and win the friendship of Madame de Pompadour. As for letters of Maria Theresa to the Marquise, neither now nor at any time do any such seem to have been sent. No such are in existence; the account of them is but gossip, and we have the explicit denial of the Empress-Queen herself that any were sent; and indeed Madame de Pompadour took no great part in public affairs as yet.

As for Saxony-Poland, that singular compound state and its no less singular statesman, Count Brühl, had taken next to no part in the negotiations. The documents printed in the 'Geheimnisse des sächsischen Cabinets' prove this abundantly. The inference of Count Vitzthum from his thesis—namely, that Frederick's invasion of Saxony was unjustifiable—may not be borne out; but his thesis itself is perfectly true, though in parts only literally true. When Frederick the Great entered Saxony, Russia and Austria had not made any offensive alliance against him, and Saxony had not joined even the defensive alliance of 1746. All through the years from the beginning of 1747 to August 1756, a sort of dropping fire of negotiation was kept up. But the Russian and Austrian pressure on Saxony was but slight. Weak, cowardly, and almost bankrupt, the Government of that country was possessed with a nervous dread of the powerful neighbour that had once struck it down at a blow. The King of Poland refused to agree to the secret articles of the St. Petersburg alliance; and the question of his accession to the rest was allowed to drop. There was indeed little need of confiding in Saxony and concerting measures with her. Brühl was too timid to make any engagement, however much he hated

Prussia; and further, Austria had already suffered sufficiently from his indiscretion in the war of 1745. And in fact so much of the Austro-Russian negotiation as was revealed (much against the wish of Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador) to Funcke, the Saxon ambassador at St. Petersburg, by Bestoucheff, the Russian Chancellor, went straight into the hands of Frederick the Great. In 1752 he had secured a traitor, Menzel, a clerk in the Saxon Chancery; and Funcke's reports were copied for Maltzahn, the Prussian minister at Dresden, as fast as they came in. And (what would be inconceivable in any other government than that of Brühl) in December 1754 Flemming, the Saxon ambassador at Vienna, was warned by the Emperor himself that Maltzahn had some means of seeing the Saxon diplomatic correspondence; yet not the slightest step was taken to find out the traitor, till he was detected *after* Frederick's invasion in 1756. This fact betrays an incredible carelessness on the part of the Saxon Government; but it also shows that Dresden was not in any respect a centre of any coalition. Indeed, to inform Saxony of the plans of Russia and Austria, especially when those plans became offensive against Prussia, was as useless as it was dangerous. It was certain that Saxony would not unite with other Powers against Frederick, after the lesson of 1745, till she could do so with perfect safety to herself; and it was equally certain that when her accession to a coalition was perfectly safe, she would join. Any premature entrance into such an alliance would be dangerous, as it might draw down on Saxony a Prussian attack before the allies could interfere.

Such then, briefly stated, was the attitude of the various Powers chiefly concerned in the Anglo-French quarrel. Everything foreboded a war on the old lines, France and Prussia against the Sea Powers, Austria, Russia, Saxony and Hanover. But there was one great difference between the coming war and the last. The war of the Austrian Succession was ushered in by the Prusso-Austrian war consequent on the seizure of Silesia; this started the Franco-Bavarian attempt to ruin the Austrian power. Prussia and France found them-

selves allies of Bavaria; England, Holland, and eventually Russia, allies of Austria. England and France began the war as auxiliaries, though they finished as principals. The parts were now reversed. England and France had quarrelled over American questions, which did not in the least concern the continent of Europe. They now wished to draw into the conflict as auxiliaries, on one side or the other, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the minor German states. The pull on the alliances came from the other end. The preservation of the House of Hapsburg was a real English interest—the upholding of Prussia as a rival to Austria, a real French interest; but America concerned neither Prussia nor Austria, and a war for the interests of England or France seemed to both the Prussian and the Austrian sovereigns to involve all possible dangers and exclude all possible advantages.

Let us take first the English attempt to form a coalition against France. The particulars of this are so well known in general that I will not dwell on them. It soon became plain that the Republic of the United Netherlands was hopeless. The Dutch had sunk into utter lethargy. Their garrisons in the barrier fortresses of Flanders were mere handfuls; the fortresses themselves were in ruins from the last war; and when appealed to to strengthen their army, the Dutch replied by withdrawing even their skeleton garrisons from the frontier. And though there was more hope of the Austrians, it soon became manifest that they would only join England on their own terms. The answers from Vienna in the spring of 1755 were all to one effect. Austria would defend her allies, as bound in honour, but could not oppose France in the Netherlands unless England won over Russia by subsidies, for otherwise Frederick of Prussia would not fail to attack Austria; and in any case not many Austrian troops could be spared for Flanders. In fact, in the Austrian view, as Colloredo stated in April, 'C'est le Roi de Prusse qui dérange toutes les mesures.' As far as the Russian treaty went, England was willing to make arrangements. Orders were sent to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to go from Dresden to St.

Petersburg to try to conclude a subsidy treaty for a Russian army, and in his instructions it was stated that one purpose of his mission was the defence of Hanover against Prussia. At the same time negotiations were started with various German states for contingents of troops.

Yet, while ready to take precautions against Prussia, the English Government pressed earnestly for a large Austrian force in the Netherlands. But the responses from Vienna were nearly as disheartening as the state of the army and fortresses in the Netherlands. 'This court,' Keith reported, May 22, 'have the King of Prussia always in their eye. Monsieur Kaunitz said the other day, he hoped his Majesty did not consider the Empress his ally only against France but likewise against the King of Prussia. He observed very justly that this new Power had overturned the balance of Europe, and that nothing would set it even but only making ourselves sure of the Russians; he seemed even to think that this was but a palliative remedy, and that *nothing would work a perfect cure but reducing things to their ancient state.*' Well might Newcastle call these expressions 'pretty remarkable.' Thus the coalition was beginning to split asunder before it was fairly made; Austria not anxious to fight France, nor England to fight Prussia. There were rumours, premature in reality, of negotiations between Austria and France, and the English Government already was beginning to think that it must confine its views to the defence of Hanover.

It was at this critical moment that a remarkable overture was made to England, one of which there is no trace in Droysen's elaborate work, nor in the 'Politische Correspondenz,' on which that work is founded. In that collection of documents there are indeed accounts of a negotiation conducted by the reigning Duke of Brunswick and his brother Ferdinand, one of Frederick's most trusted generals, between England and Prussia. But the first trace of this is in August 1755, and the initiative seems to come from the English. In the Newcastle papers there is clear evidence that the negotiation

by this channel began some months earlier, and that it was Prussia that made the first advances.

To understand Frederick's position we must go back a little. At the beginning of 1755 he had been in favour of France, and had recommended the French in April to force George II. to make peace by a sudden inroad into Hanover. This, he hoped, would prevent a general war; for a general war would unchain the coalition against Prussia. The proposal, however, found little favour. It was answered by a cool proposal of Rouillé's that Prussia should undertake the raid on Hanover alone, in which case, it was hinted, Frederick would find enough booty to pay his expenses. The proposal was one which wounded Frederick's pride, as if he were accounted the mere paid bravo of France; but though in his 'History of the Seven Years' War' he represents himself as having returned an answer intended to put Rouillé in his place, in reality he answered not as he wished, but as was prudent. May 6, he wrote to Knyphausen to answer that the alliance of Russia and Austria, backed with English gold, was too strong for him to affront by such an attack; and further hinted that France might desert him in such a case, as she had done in 1745. However, the French returned to the charge, but in vain. Frederick was resolved not to attack Hanover, and if possible, he would keep out of the war altogether. He knew that the English-Hanoverian ministers were in dread of his hostility, and that the Russian subsidy treaty they were trying to conclude would be directed against him if he showed hostility to Hanover. This Russian intervention was what he dreaded most, for he knew through the Saxon correspondence the desire of the Russians to find an opportunity of crushing Prussia; and it was with the view of avoiding this danger that he now made overtures to England. The first letter of Ferdinand of Brunswick to his brother must have been sent towards the end of May. On the 26th of that month Frederick charged his envoy at the Hague to deny all rumours of such negotiation. On June 6 Newcastle, writing to Holdernesse, in answer to that minister's 'entre nous'

postscript, says: 'This overture from the King of Prussia must have the happiest effect upon both sides of our question. It is not that I promise myself any very solid advantage from the King of Prussia; though in the present disposition of the court of Vienna, if anything solid could be built upon it, it might be much to be wished. But this advance (for such it is) will puzzle France, make them more cautious how they act, or attempt any offensive measures against the King (*i.e.* George II.) in Germany, and it will certainly do good at Vienna.' This letter crossed one from Holdernesse, dated Hanover, June 7. 'It is now certainly known here that it was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick who at the King of Prussia's desire wrote to the Duke his brother in the manner I had the honour to inform your Grace by the last messenger. The Duke of Brunswick is charged with the negotiation, and promises to do his utmost to prevent the *interview*, though the King of Prussia is very desirous of it.'

It appears, therefore, that Frederick had proposed an interview with George II., but it fell through owing to George's personal dislike to his royal nephew, although Frederick in going to Wesel and returning passed near Hanover. Holdernesse and Newcastle were both sorry for this failure; but they drew the inference from the Prussian overtures that there was little danger from that side to Hanover, and this feeling of security made them less ready to yield to the Austrian demands, which were becoming plainer. Keith's despatch of June 27 is most remarkable. He had asked Kaunitz if Austria would help to defend Hanover, and if so, with what forces. 'He said hastily,' reports Keith, '*Ce n'est pas là la méthode de les défendre;* and upon my asking, *Comment prétendez-vous donc le faire?* he answered, *En attaquant le Roi de Prusse, morbleu.* He took himself in saying this, and immediately turned the discourse, and I could never bring him back to the point, though I endeavoured to do it several times.' Such an admission as this was decisive; and coming at a time when the English ministers had good reason to believe that Frederick did not care to attack Hanover, and that, as

Newcastle puts it, 'France was certainly not satisfied with Prussia, nor his Prussian Majesty with them,' it was fatal to the Anglo-Austrian alliance. Negotiations still went on, but the split was inevitable. And as Prussia drew towards England, so in the same measure Austria drew towards France.

The month of August 1755 may be fixed on as the turning-point in the diplomatic revolution. In that month the negotiation through the Duke of Brunswick was resumed, and continued after George II. returned to England in September, only to be replaced by a direct negotiation through the Prussian Secretary of Legation, Michell, in London. In August, too, was held a remarkable series of secret councils of the Austrian rulers and ministers, which resulted in the definite breach with England and attempt to make an alliance with France.

What decided the Austrian Government to take this step was the evident increase of friendliness between England and Prussia, and the hope of the English ministers that Frederick would not attack Hanover and would not need to be crushed. But, if this were the case, Austria might be involved in a quarrel with France about America, in which she had no concern, in which she could gain little, might lose much, and would in any case be left exhausted at the mercy of Frederick's untouched strength. On August 16 the secret council determined that if Prussia were neutral in the impending war, Austria must also be neutral. This resolution, however, might be as dangerous as the policy which it replaced. For France might occupy the Netherlands as a basis of operations in spite of Austria's neutrality; and by attacking Hanover might throw all Germany into confusion. Simple neutrality was perilous and undignified, and would have the disadvantage of leaving Prussia untouched and as dangerous as ever. There was a third course open, however; Austria might buy the support, or at least the neutrality, of France by promising her own neutrality, or by cessions in the Netherlands; and then, while England and France were both unable

to interfere, might fling the force of the Austro-Russian alliance on Prussia, win back Silesia, and remove the standing menace to Austria. This was the course determined on at the council of August 21, and orders were at once sent to Starhemberg, the ambassador at Paris, to open negotiations with France on this basis. But, as the French ministers were known to be partizans of Prussia, and unlikely to welcome such proposals, even though baited with the Netherlands for Don Philip, Duke of Parma, Louis XV.'s son-in-law, the Austrian Government resolved to approach the King by some other way. Starhemberg was instructed to make his overtures through the Prince of Conti, who, as the Austrian Government well knew, was the manager of Louis XV.'s famous secret correspondence with his agents abroad. But in order that Starhemberg, if this method was unsuitable, might have another way of approaching the King, a letter to Madame de Pompadour from Kaunitz (who, as mentioned before, was her friend) was sent. Starhemberg might choose between the two. This simple fact is of itself enough to ruin the Pompadour legend. Madame de Pompadour was only the second string of the Austrian negotiations. Starhemberg received his despatches on August 29, 1755, and on August 31 he addressed Madame de Pompadour, asking that the King should appoint some minister to negotiate with him in secret. Madame de Pompadour, with Louis XV.'s consent, chose the Abbé de Bernis, an old friend of hers, who had been ambassador at Venice, and was just appointed to go to Spain. Bernis's Memoirs, though reserved on all points which were secrets of state, confirm Starhemberg's despatches in all essentials. In some respects they add to them, for Bernis brings out what Starhemberg could not know then—the strong personal leaning of Louis XV. to Austria. The share which religious feeling had in this disposition has been exaggerated, and is now too much overlooked. There is little doubt that the prospect of exalting Catholicism by a league of the two great Catholic Powers appealed to him both as a glorious action in itself, and as a safeguard against damnation. But if Louis XV. was warm

in the matter, Bernis was cool. He held fast to the traditional policy of upholding Prussia, and, while ready to accept Austrian neutrality, would not give up the attempt to secure the co-operation of Prussia. The bait of the Netherlands was of no use so long as there was still a hope of Frederick's help against Hanover. It was to secure this help that the mission of the Duc de Nivernois, known to be a friend of Frederick's, was decided on. But the mission was delayed still, and the report which Knyphausen gave of the Duc's instructions (October 24) did not look as if the French proposals were serious; and in any case they were not enticing. It seemed that France was resolved to concentrate her strength on America, and compel England to make peace there. The Netherlands she would let alone, and would leave Germany to her German allies unless the American and naval war took an unfavourable turn. If Frederick would attack Hanover, France had various means to keep Russia out of the fight. As additional lures the French were ready to offer Frederick the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, then debated between English and French, and accounted 'neutral.' Frederick pronounced these ideas 'vague and wretched'; and the undecided attitude of France, especially her hesitation in seizing her opportunity to overrun the Netherlands, made him guess that there might be some secret intrigue between Versailles and Vienna. Less than ever was he inclined to attack Hanover, for on September 30 Williams succeeded in making his subsidy treaty with Russia for 55,000 men to be employed for the defence of Hanover. Should Frederick now offend England, the Russians would be only too glad to serve against him.

All these circumstances—the command the English seemed to have of the Russians, their influence with Austria, the desire of France to leave to her allies the burden of the continental war—all moved Frederick to one conclusion, that he must come to an understanding with England. Without this, he was exposed unassisted to the Austro-Russian alliance, which Saxony would join as soon as it was safe.

Frederick's resolution was soon taken, and carried out with his usual promptness. On December 2 he wrote charging Knyphausen to deny the rumour that he had made terms with England; on December 7 he wrote to Michell proposing to make a treaty.

Michell had reported (November 28) that Holdernesse had communicated to him the Anglo-Russian treaty, and enlarged on its purely defensive character, and had then pointed out that England's only aim was to secure peace in Germany, which Frederick and he alone could guarantee. Holdernesse also stated that England was ready to adjust all differences about the Silesian Loan, &c. On these overtures Frederick built his proposals. He suggested a treaty of neutrality for Germany, to exclude foreign inroads, but without naming either French or Russians. Podewils was now entrusted with the details of the negotiation, Frederick suggesting a few points for the treaty. One important matter was the use of the phrase 'Germany' and not 'German Empire' for the country to be protected, so as to except the Netherlands. The compensation for Prussian ships captured in the last war on plea of contraband, was to be set at 20,000*l.*, if so much could be got. All these points appear in the Treaty of Westminster. On January 4, 1756, Frederick drew up a draft treaty for Michell's use, including a secret article expressly excluding the Austrian Netherlands from the guarantee. On January 16, 1756, the Treaty of Westminster for the neutrality of Germany was signed, by which England and Prussia bound themselves in common to preserve peace in Germany, and to resist any attempt to introduce foreign troops.

This treaty arrived in Berlin January 26. On January 29, by Frederick's orders, copies of the convention and the secret article excluding the Netherlands were sent to Nivernois, who was now at last in Berlin, and had had his first audience on January 14. In this audience Frederick had frankly stated his reasons for not renewing his alliance with France, if he was expected to attack Hanover. The Alliance of Breslau, 1741, was only defensive, and in any case expired

in the summer of 1756; and to take part in the designs of France would draw down the coalition on Prussia.

There is no doubt that Frederick considered the Westminster Treaty a skilful move in his diplomatic game. If it kept the French out of Hanover, it also kept out the Russians and Austrians who would otherwise come to defend Hanover, so there was no need for France to object. Even if France objected, she would hardly be so blinded by resentment as to turn against Prussia. And by England's withdrawal of subsidies, the Russians would be quiet, and Austria would not move alone. But in this calculation there were two fatal flaws —one of ignorance, and one of defective foresight. Frederick did not know how far the secret negotiation between Austria and France had gone, and how easy it would be to change the current of French policy, and he did not foresee that the Westminster Treaty would be regarded as a flagrant insult by France, Austria, and Russia at once. France saw her old ally and dependent assuming independence and engaging with her bitterest enemy to oppose the entry of French troops into Hanover. Austria threw to the winds the last relics of consideration for England. Russia was hurt by being treated as a mere mercenary, to be hired by England when needed and dismissed with contempt, as in 1748, when not wanted. The prospects for the complete ratification of the subsidy treaty, never very bright, were now of the darkest. The English ministers still deceived themselves and Frederick into the belief that they could keep Russia back from war against Prussia; but it was mere deception.

In France the Treaty of Westminster had the greatest effect. There was but one cry against the 'defection,' the 'desertion' of the King of Prussia. The secret negotiation of Bernis and Starhemberg revived with fresh vigour. Other French ministers were admitted. Now at last Kaunitz had found his opportunity for carrying out the resolutions of August 21, 1755. Bernis was still of opinion that Prussia's 'desertion' deserved no more than a corresponding indifference to her fate on the part of France; but he was overborne

by the general sentiment, by the personal feeling of Louis XV. After long discussions the French Government agreed to negotiate again on the plan which Starhemberg had presented on September 1755, and which had then been rejected. This, as Bernis says, was a giant step; and now the rest was easy. The two Treaties of Versailles were signed on May 1, 1756, between Austria and France. By the first, a neutrality convention, Austria would remain neutral in the war between France and England. The second was a defensive alliance, by which each Power promised 24,000 men to the other, if attacked.

Still more significant was a memorandum handed to Starhemberg by Bernis on the day the treaty was signed. This document declared in Louis XV.'s name that France was ready to negotiate further with Austria on the basis of the Austrian proposals of September 1755. Now these proposals looked to an attack on Prussia. In that very council of August 21, 1755, often referred to, the Austrian ministers had resolved to attack Prussia next year, if the alliance or the countenance of France could be gained. The delay in the conclusion of the treaty, and the insufficient preparations made, had induced the Austrian Government to put off the outbreak of war; and from similar considerations Esterhazy had to moderate the zeal of Elizabeth, who, in April 1756, declared her readiness to begin the attack against Prussia that year.

The Treaty of Versailles, even as a defensive alliance, was, as the Duc de Broglie says, a blank cheque, signed by France, and left in the hands of Austria. If Prussia could be driven into a technical aggression, France was bound to send 24,000 men; and as an auxiliary and subordinate part was impossible if she were to exercise any influence on the war, she would be drawn in more and more—as actually happened—till, as by the treaty of May 1, 1757, she put her whole resources at the service of Austria.

But the contemporaneous memorandum clearly shows that France was even now drawn beyond the point of a defensive

alliance. Any agreement on the basis of September 1755 meant French participation in the aggressive plans of Austria and Russia.

The remainder of the time between May 1 and August 29 was of comparatively little importance from a diplomatic point of view. No formal alliance existed beyond that of 1746 between Austria and Russia; but this was rather from choice than from necessity. The reports of the offensive alliance against Prussia on which Frederick acted in August were true in substance, if technically false. Austria and Russia had each wished to make the attack in 1756; they had only adjourned it till 1757 to be surer. France was cognisant of their designs, and it was certain that, whoever began the war, her Government could not resist the Austrian pressure to join it. Frederick, as we know, finding the coalition growing ever more menacing, determined to try if he could not, as in 1745, disperse the gathering danger by one sudden blow; and he attacked not Austria, at first, but Saxony. Why he chose Saxony for his attack, how far his charges against her Government were founded, and what other justification there was for his conduct, I had hoped to discuss more fully; but my paper has stretched itself to too great a length already. Perhaps at some time I may be able to give some further considerations on the subject of the Prussian 'Mémoire Raisonné'; but that will be for a future occasion.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE AND INFORMATION GATHERED FROM THE TRADERS' TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND FROM THE MINOR CURRENCY.

By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, F.R.Hist.S., F.S.S., M Num.S.

(*Read* April 19, 1888.)

THERE are few branches of knowledge that have within the past few years so varied in their character as that of Numismatics. At one time merely the amusement and pursuit of the leisured wealthy or the study of the very learned, it has within the present generation become a study of importance, interest, and value to those who have but comparatively little leisure and recreation, to those engaged in other branches of study, and a source of historical knowledge hitherto little suspected. To this work the existence of the Numismatic Society of London has given no small aid, and in fact has been largely instrumental in both encouraging and carrying on the study of coins and the research for their historical evidence amongst those who are beginning to understand the high value of such research.

Founded only fifty years ago by the late Dr. John Lee,[1] it has carried on a most admirable work ever since, issuing papers of great importance at regular intervals, and holding very frequent meetings for the discussion of vexed topics, examination and comparison of coins, and general acquaintance of collectors. It also possesses an admirable library of Numismatic works. Mainly through the action of this society the study of Numismatics is rapidly becoming one of the *exact*

[1] Of Doctors' Commons, E.C., and Hartwell Park, Wilts.

sciences. The Society has encouraged subdivision of labour and study of distinct branches of the science, and it has invested these branch studies with the importance they ought to have. It has always welcomed the efforts of any numismatist who, in desiring to give special attention to any one class of coins, brings to bear upon that branch all his energy and information and endeavours to perfect the knowledge of that branch of study. In this way many of the smaller series and those of less importance and value have received a greater amount of attention than hitherto, and no branch of numismatics has benefited more than the series of seventeenth-century traders' tokens from this kindly encouragement and aid. Tokens, but a few years since, were ridiculed on all sides, their importance scorned, and their value historically, lightly estimated, and while naturally not to be compared for one moment with the imperial coins of Rome and Greece or the regal coins of our own or other European countries, or even with the interesting and scarce coins of the East, yet they have been shown to possess an importance and interest peculiarly their own.

Tokens are essentially democratic; they were issued by the people, and it is of the people that they speak. They record, with few exceptions, the names of no monarchs; they speak of no wars or events of great Parliamentary importance; they were not issued by Governments or Cabinets, nor by Peers or Members of Parliament, but by the unknown and small traders of well-nigh every village and town in the country, and by officials such as Mayors, Portreeves, Chamberlains, Overseers, and Churchwardens in boroughs, villages, and districts, as well as in larger towns, parishes, and hundreds. The reason of their issue was to supply a public need, and when that need had been recognised by the Government and steps taken to supply it, the issue of tokens ceased, and they passed from the exchange of the shop and the market into the cabinets of the numismatist. The issue commenced in 1648 and only extended to 1679, so that the entire series forms one very short chapter of thirty years in the history of that most

troublous of times in our country's history, that immediately following the murder of King Charles I. The want of small change had, however, been seriously felt in England for a long time preceding their issue. It had been considered beneath the dignity of the sovereign to issue coins of any metal baser than silver, and owing to the increased value of silver the unit of currency had become more and more minute in size and consequently inconvenient for use. The *counters* struck at Nürnberg became current for reckoning in England about 1328, but were forbidden currency by statute in 1335. In 1404 the first mention of tokens that is known occurred (as was pointed out by Dr. Evans) in a petition from the Commons to the King to make some remedy for the mischief among poor people occasioned by the want of small coinage and by their use of foreign money and tokens of lead. These lead tokens were issued in great abundance; they are referred to by Erasmus as of common currency, but it is very seldom they bear the name of either issuer or place of issue. Elizabeth issued patterns for a regal coinage in copper, but the matter went no further, and no current coins appear ever to have been issued by the Queen in the baser metals. Her Majesty, however, did grant permission to the city of Bristol to strike tokens to be current in that city and ten miles around. The date of the licence is not exactly known, but it must have been towards the close of the sixteenth century, for on May 12, 1594, the Mayor and Aldermen were required to call in all the private tokens (presumably of lead) that had been issued without authority, and it was ordered that none that had been issued without licence from the Mayor should be current in the city. These Elizabethan tokens bear on the obverse C.B. (Civitas Bristol), and on the reverse the city arms, and are very rude in their execution. The licence appears to have continued to apply to that city, as in the seventeenth century but *one* private person in Bristol issued his token; the city continuing to issue tokens year by year of similar character and style and with similar device to those issued by licence of the Queen.

A copper coinage was contemplated by the Commonwealth Government, and patterns were struck both in copper and pewter, but no authorised issue of them ever took place, and beyond the royal tokens, known as Harringtons, and referred to later on, no attempt was made to supply the great national want of the period. Extracts from the State papers of the time show us that the subject was often considered in the Councils of State, as, for instance,

1649, *May* 30.—Council of State. The business of farthing tokens is to be considered to-morrow.

1650, *Aug.* 9.—A decision arrived at. Farthings *ought to be issued.* They should be struck by the Mint and be of full value.

1651, *Aug.* 10.—A lengthy report was presented to the Council of State by Thomas Voilet, from which it may suffice to make a few extracts. The report commences by stating that money is the public means to set a price upon all things between man and man, and experience hath sufficiently proved in all ages that small money is so needful to the poorer sort that all nations have endeavoured to have it. It continues to recommend small pieces as ministering of frugality, whereupon men can have a farthing's worth and are not constrained to buy more of anything than they stand in need of, their feeding being from hand to mouth; it recommends it on the ground of charity, saying that many are deprived of alms for want of farthings and half-farthings, for many would give a farthing who are not disposed to give a penny or two pence, or to lose time in staying to change money whereby they may contract a noisome smell or the disease of the poor.

It then refers to the imperial money of Rome constantly being ploughed up in men's grounds, and to the copper money of the Continent, especially Sweden, and goes into some elaborate details of great interest as to the profit to be derived by the Government from making such farthings of tin and copper, and as to the appointment of special treasurers and officers to see to this new issue.

In 1652 a further discussion as to the engines for minting

metal took place, and then constant references occur as to the issue of tradesmen's tokens and corporation pieces, complaints against the issues and proposals to stop the issue; but nothing was finally done until 1672, when a Royal proclamation was issued[1] for making current his Majesty's farthings and halfpence of copper, and forbidding all others to be used.

[1] '*By the King. A Proclamation for making currant His Majesties Farthings and Half-pence of Copper, and forbidding all others to be used.*

'CHARLES R.

'Whereas of late years several Persons and Corporations, upon pretence that there wanted small moneys to be currant in low and ordinary payments amongst the poorer sort, have presumed to cause certain pieces of Brass, Copper, and other Base Metals to be stamped with their private stamps; and then imposed those pieces upon our poor subjects for Pence, Halfpence, or Farthings, as the makers thereof were pleased to call them, whereby our subjects have been greatly defrauded, and our Royal authority and the laws of our kingdom violated: And whereas We, for the prevention of the like abuses for the time to come, did not only direct a severe prosecution of the offenders, but did likewise command the officers of our Mint to cause many thousands of pounds of good sterling silver to be coined into single pence and twopences, that so there might be good money currant among the poorest of our subjects, and fitted for their smaller traffic and commerce; hoping by one or both these means, to have totally suppressed the unlawful practices of these offenders; since which time we have found by experience, that the mischief hath still encreased, partly by having our small silver money bought in and hoarded up, that so there might be a scarcity thereof in common payments: but chiefly for the vast gain and profit which these stampers make to themselves, and for which they choose to run any hazards of law, rather than quit the hopes of their private lucre: we therefore taking the premisses into our princely consideration, and believing that our subjects would not easily be wrought upon to accept the Farthings and Halfpence of these private stampers, if there were not some kind of necessity for such small coynes to be made for publique use, which cannot well be done in silver, nor safely in any other mettal, unless the intrinsick value of the coyn be equal, or near to that value for which it is made currant; have thought fit, by advice of our Privy Council, to cause certain farthings and halfpence of copper to be stamped at our Mint, according to such form and with such impression as we have directed: and we have given special charge to our officers there, that they cause such halfpence and farthings so to be coyned, to contain as much copper in weight, as shall be of the true intrinsick value and worth of a halfpenny or farthing respectively, the charges of coyning and uttering being onely deducted. And we do further by this our Royal Proclamation declare, publish, and authorize the said halfpence and farthings of copper so coyned and to be coyned, to be currant money; and that the same, from and after this instant 16th day of August, shall pass and be received in all payments, bargains, and exchanges to be had or made between our subjects, which shall be under the value of sixpence, and not otherwise, nor in any other manner. And if any

This proclamation was universally obeyed throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, except (as far as can be found out) in the city of Chester, which continued to issue its tokens until 1674, a course which resulted in legal proceedings being taken against the city by the Crown. The issuers petitioned Sir William Williams, the then member and Speaker of the House of Commons, who interceded with the law officers of the Crown, and proceedings were stayed on condition of the offenders complying with the provisions of the Act.[1] The same state of affairs appears to have also existed in Norfolk, and the city of Norwich petitioned the Crown, and a pardon was granted and the tokens were then called in by the public bellman.

The issue of tokens in Ireland continued until 1679. They were struck in copper, brass, and bronze, and occasionally in lead, but the majority are in copper, and were issued of three denominations—penny, half-penny, and farthings. They are generally circular, but some of them are square, heart-shaped, diamond-shaped, and octagonal, and this is more often the case with those issued by corporations and towns. The execution of them is frequently pleasing in character and style, but is never of any exceptional artistic merit. The engravers for the mints, especially Rawlins, who under the Commonwealth fell into great poverty, and from having designed the regal coins and seals was glad to be employed upon these tokens, are in some instances the authors of the designs, and these are then distinguished by the initial of the artist's name. In many cases it would appear that

person or persons, bodies politique or corporate, shall, after the first day of September next, presume to make, vend, or utter any pence, halfpence and farthings, or other pieces of brass, copper, or other base mettal, other than the halfpence and farthings by this our Royal Proclamation authorized and allowed, or shall offer to counterfeit any of our halfpence or farthings, we shall hold all such offenders utterly inexcusable, and shall cause their contempt of our laws and government to be chastised with exemplary severity.

'Given at our Court of Whitehall, the 16th day of August, in the 24th year of our reign, 1672.

'GOD SAVE THE KING!'

[1] *Heywood's Tokens of Cheshire*, p. 66.

local artists were employed, and that they travelled on from town to town, something in the manner of the ancient Anglo-Saxon moneyers, designing tokens for the various villages and towns through which they passed. There is a similarity of design, both in style, lettering, and device, and a correspondence of mint marks in the tokens of many adjacent places, which appears to point to some such manner of working, and in many towns the dies are still preserved and traditions of the place of mintage. Many were, however, struck in London, and consequently names of both issuers and places incorrectly spelt. Taken as a whole series they are homely and quaint, wanting in beauty, but not without a curious domestic art of their own, and the inscriptions and devices upon them throw some interesting side lights upon the folk-lore, manners, habits, and customs of that period of thirty years.

They usually bear on one side the name of the issuer, and on the other the place of issue; and in the field some device having reference to the issuer's trade on one side, and the issuer's initials, together generally with that of his wife, on the other. It must be borne in mind, in referring to them, that no direct light of any startling character is afforded by this series; but as the history of a nation is greatly made up of the domestic life of its people, and as the life of the village tells us of the life of the town, and so of that of the country, these tokens may be found by the student of history not unworthy of more attention than they have at present received.

Evelyn, of 'Sylva' reputation, wrote as follows respecting them:—

> 'The tokens which every tavern and tippling-house in the days of anarchy amongst us presumed to stamp and utter for immediate exchange as they were passable through the neighbourhood, which, though seldom reaching further than the next street or two, may happily in after time come to exercise and busie the learned critic what they should signify, and fill whole volumes with their conjectures.'

This prophecy has been fulfilled in our day, and it is these

tokens that form the subject of this paper. Incidentally they give us some information as to the trade and prosperity of the towns of their issue, and as to the relative importance of such towns.

The fact that eighty-three traders in Exeter issued tokens, thirty-two in High Wycombe, sixty in Rotherhithe, forty in Bury St. Edmunds, twenty in the tiny village of Oundle in Northamptonshire, and twenty in Durham; while but fourteen were struck in Manchester, eleven in Liverpool, two in Brighton, and one each in Clapham, Sunderland, Gateshead, Stockton, Oldham, Burnley, and Bury, is not without interest, as the comparative size and character and importance of these places have so much varied since 1648.

The local government of the places appears to have much varied. In Guildford the churchwardens' initials appear on the town piece. In Chard the name of the Portreeve; in Gloucester and Lincoln, the Maior; Wootten, Maior and Aldermen; Southampton and Romsey, The Corporation; in Hereford, The Sword Bearer; St. Neots and St. Ives, Grantham and Boston, The Overseers; Ilchester, The Bailiffs; Taunton, The Constables; while in other towns they were issued by the High Bailiff, Chamberlain, and Treasurer. All this variety gives us some interesting information upon the peculiarities of local and municipal government in those days, and the high position then occupied in some towns by such officials as Churchwardens, Overseers, and Sword Bearer, who in later times fill quite subordinate positions. The main idea and reason for their issue was, in very many cases, kept well in view—namely, that of being of essential service to the poorer residents, and it is of interest to read on the tokens of Andover, 'Remember the Poore,' 'For the poore,' 'Help o' Andover for the poore's benefit.' At Croyland, 'The poore's halfpenny;' at Southwold, 'For the poore's advantage;' at Tamworth, 'For change and charitie;' and in very many places such legends as, 'To be changed by the Overseers for the poor,' 'By the Overseers for the use of the poor,' and so on.

In the troublous Stuart times, while internecine and civil war overshadowed the land, and poverty abounded, and while the memory of the great monasteries and of their relief still existed, and the harm from their abolition still remained, the number of poor was very great, and the value to them of this semi-illegal minor currency must have been very high. The promise mentioned on one of the last inscriptions, as to changing the tokens, occurred on very many, and in one case occurs in a rhyming form :—

When you please
I'll change these.

It is also put, 'Will be changed,' 'To be changed,' 'For change,' and in other ways; but whether expressed or not, it was always implied, and the issuers of the tokens were morally bound to change them, if desired, for regal and authorised coin. Traders used to keep boxes with numerous partitions, into which to divide off the tokens of different counties, and mention occasionally occurs in Corporation records of Mr. So-and-so, from such a town, having changed so much money into town tokens, or so many town tokens into coin of the realm. It is presumed that something in the same way as local bank-notes have passed freely from hand to hand where the private banks were known and their integrity accepted, so these tokens in their immediate districts were willingly accepted, but as to whether in more distant parts of the country, where their issues were unknown, they still were taken, it is hardly possible to say.

While, however, southern tokens are often dug up or found in houses in the north, it is comparatively seldom that tokens of Yorkshire, Lancashire, or Cheshire, or of the more northern counties, are found south, and in most cases, with but few exceptions, hoards of these tokens consist of those of the county in which they are found, and of those in its immediate neighbourhood. To this the exception of Surrey must be made, as Surrey tokens have been found in almost every county in the kingdom—a proof of the commercial importance

of the county in those days. A somewhat striking peculiarity of these tokens is the very constant use in the field of the obverse of the arms of the great trading Companies of London, more especially those of the Grocers' and Mercers' Companies. There is hardly a trading guild bearing arms that is not represented on this series of tokens, although naturally some occur very much more frequently than others.

We find the arms of the twelve great companies: Mercers', Grocers', Drapers', Fishmongers', Goldsmiths', Skinners', Merchant Taylors', Haberdashers', Salters', Ironmongers', Vintners', Clothworkers'; also those of the Apothecaries', Armourers', Bakers', Barbers', Basketmakers', Blacksmiths', Bowyers', Brewers', Broderers', Builders', Cardmakers', Carpenters', Clockmakers', Coachmakers', Combmakers', Cooks', Coopers', Cordwainers', Curriers', Cutlers', Distillers', Dyers', Fanmakers', Farriers', Feltmakers', Fletchers', Founders', Framework Knitters', Fruiterers', Gardiners', Girdlers', Glaziers', Glass-sellers', Glovers', Gold and Silver Wire Drawers', Gunsmiths', Hatband-makers', Horners', Innholders', Joiners', Leathersellers', Longbow String-makers', Loriners', Masons', Musicians', Needle-makers', Painters', Parish Clerks', Pattenmakers', Paviors', Pewterers', Pinners', Plaisterers', Plumbers' Poulterers', Saddlers', Scriveners', Shipwrights', Silkmen's, Silkweavers', Soapmakers', Spectacle-makers', Starchmakers', Stationers', Surgeons', Tallow and Wax Chandlers', Tinplate-workers', Tobacco Pipe-makers', Turners', Tylers', Upholders', Watermen's, Weavers', Wheelwrights', Woolmongers', and Woolmen's, also of the Merchants of the Staple, Merchant Adventurers', and Shearmens'.

It is evident that use of these coats of arms as signs of trade was very frequent; in many towns every token bears the arms of some trade, and probably used the coat armour as its sign. In some towns, research in Corporation and Guild records has revealed the fact of a close relationship, alliance, and, to some extent, obedience, existing between those of a trade in a town forming that Guild, and what was evidently looked upon, to some extent, as headquarters in

London. It is impossible to say to what extent this intimate connection existed; it is referred to but seldom in Guild records, and then only briefly as though well known; but it is clear that the trades largely and extensively used the armorial bearings of the Company, formed themselves into local Guilds for the management and restriction of their own trade, and to a certain extent owned and recognised a sort of allegiance due to the London Company. The enormous prevalence of Grocers' over every other trade shows the leading business to have been then, as now, in villages, the grocery store or village shop, as still often termed. In many cases the Apothecaries term themselves 'Pothecaries, omitting the prefix A, and some trades, such as Terbaccermen (*sic*), Ratkillers, Postmaster, Pack-horse-man, Carrier, Oatmeal-makers, and Tollmen, Slater, Tanner, &c., who never appear to have been incorporated, appear without any sign or arms. Those issued by the Tolemen (*sic*) of Stilton and Doncaster have an especial interest, as the first Turnpike Road Act was of 1663, and so Toll Bars had been only just established, and were probably farmed by these enterprising token-issuing tollmen.

The entire question of signs is one that might well fill the whole of the limited space of this paper, abounding as it does in many curious details. The great bulk of London tokens bear devices which were evidently used as signs, and were referred to in the inscription as such. Take, for instance, 'The Dog and Duck,' 'The Prince Morris,' 'Windmill,' 'Nag's Head,' 'Raven,' 'Turk's Head,' '3 and 3,' 'Mitre,' 'Swan,' and 'King,' and many others, some, of course, having reference to the trade carried on, and, in some instances, being a detached portion of the trade arms, as the 'Virgin' from the Mercers' Arms, the 'Mermaid' from the Apothecaries', the 'Three Crowns,' or the 'Three Tuns,' from Skinners' or Vintners', and 'Adam and Eve' from the Fruiterers' Arms; but in most cases merely being signs, and having no intimate connection with the trader using them or his trade.

Local trades find a reference on these tokens: lace in Buckinghamshire, and wool in Surrey; gloves in Leicester;

needles in Chichester; say or bay, a kind of fine serge, at Colchester; and lace at St. Neots, receiving mention and device; and on tokens of Sherborne appear a representation of a plain band or stock, the manufacture of which was at one time a staple industry in Sherborne, and first said to have been introduced there. These stocks were sometimes sent on to Saffron Walden to be dyed yellow, and worn by the fashionable gallants of the court of Charles II. that colour, and supported by a Pickadill.

On a token of Ashburton the teasel (*Dipsacus Fullonum*) is shown, and has clear reference to the process of preparing cloth carried on in that district, and to the cultivation of the teasel plant.

On very many Norfolk tokens the issuers style themselves Worstead Weavers, showing the trade prevailing at that time in Northern Norfolk. Not a single Cornish token however has any reference to the leading industry, mining, or to mines. In Cornwall there is another striking peculiarity, and that is, that out of only one hundred or so tokens, more than a fourth have family armorial bearings upon them, showing the extent to which the old Cornish families were engaged in local commerce. The same peculiarity appears in the city of Chester; the bulk of the issuers in that city being entitled to style themselves Armiger.

Bearing in mind that the issue of these tokens spreads over the entire period of the Commonwealth, it is instructive to notice the display of loyalty from the trading middle class of the county. In Durham, for example, scarcely a token appears without the words 'God save the King,' or without the device of the 'King's head crowned;' and this device, and that of the crown, king's arms, royal oak, Duke of York, and other such loyal symbols appear on the tokens of the United Kingdom to an enormous extent, and far before any other similar devices. The arms of the Commonwealth, or any reference to it, do not appear a dozen times in many thousand tokens. Before leaving the question of arms it is interesting to notice the names, as issuers of tokens, of many

of the old and renowned families of the present day. The Winstanleys, of Eddystone renown, in Saffron Walden; the Wilberforces of Yorkshire; the Hobsons of Spalding; Unwins of Essex; and Penhelicks and Penhaluricks of Cornwall; and the Bunyans, important from a literary point of view. Indeed, in very many instances, family genealogy and research as to ancestry have been greatly aided by clues given and suggestions gathered from the seventeenth-century tokens. The title 'Gent.,' and the title 'Quondam Esqre,' appear on the tokens, but not that of 'Mister,' save in Ireland, and as a rule no prefix or suffix denoting style is given. In Ireland the tokeners are termed *merchant* or *marchant*, irrespective of the nature of their trade; and that word is on the majority of Irish tokens, but is very rare on English ones. Issuers in some cases style themselves Aldermen; and in *one* instance, that of Newbury, the token is issued by the Rector, and bears a Bible as device. Solitary instances also occur of the use of the words Gaffer and Gammer.

But *one* Christian name appears to be the invariable rule; although from records it appears that some issuers had more than one surname and were so distinguished, as for instance in Kent, Smith *alias* Peffcock, and Williams *alias* Walder.

It would appear in some instances that a person having occupation in London and residence in the country issued two varying tokens, one giving his trade, as, for example, that of a wool-stapler in *town*, who also issued a token without the name of his trade in *Essex*, where he resided, and where he was probably not desirous of advertising the fact of his being a trader. The present favourite expression of being 'something in the City' was evidently not without its counterpart idea, even in 1650.

Many tokens bear strange devices, termed merchants' marks, in some cases composed of initial letters combined into monograms; in others of figures similarly used; and in others mere mathematical signs or geometric figures. It is, however, very curious to notice in some cases, more

especially in one remarkable case in Colchester, that the merchant's mark was borne in a shield as coat-armour, surmounted by the family crest; and this instance may possibly give us a clue to the origin of some of the peculiar bearings and devices in some coats of arms. Marks of difference between elder and cadet branches, by means of transverse lines, are also found on some of these merchants' marks. The arms of the City of London form a rather favourite device in some districts. Many of the devices are of interest as giving examples of the humour of the issuers; that brightness and merriment that was at one time a significant feature in this country, and gave the name to Merry England. Such names as Legg, Key, Salmon, Tower, Anchor, Coates, &c., were generally accompanied by the representation of the familiar object, forming a pun or rebus on the name. The device of a bolt in a tun, a hare in a bottle, a Holy Thorn on a hill, were used to typify such names as Bolton, Harbottle, and Thornhill. A tokener named Godleman gives an olive tree, in evident allusion to David's mention, in the Psalms, that a godly man shall be like an olive tree. The old name for a sickle—'snead'—appears to have given a pun, as a sickle appears on the token of a Robert Snead. A humorous idea in the mind of one issuer led him to put two heavy-looking faces upon his token, and, with an evident reference to the unfortunate person possessing the token, the inscription, 'Wee 3 Loggerheads be.' Another adopted a similar idea, giving a kind of donkey's head to the face, and the remark, 'Wee are 3.'

Representations of articles of domestic use occur often on the tokens, and are often depicted of quaint and curious shape, and styled by their early and unusual names; thus a three-legged pot on one is called a crock; gloves of very great length, more like the present gants de Suède, are on the tokens of a mercer in Suffolk, calling himself the glover; an odd-looking tub appears on some tokens of St. Ives in which two women are washing. Quaint-shaped pestles and mortars, and very pretty keys, appear on some tokens; and tobacco

pipes of the short squat shape common to the period, also inkhorns and the leathern jugs known as black jacks.

An occasional reference also occurs to well-known characters of the period, as Jack o' Newbury, a well-known and successful clothier, and Will Somers, the jester to King Henry VIII.

A curious picture of one phase of the domestic life is seen in one token issued by ten poor men in the King's Bench, and by Marshalsea tokens, which give a somewhat lurid light upon the hard times in which imprisonment for debt, often for life, was in force.

Rhyming inscriptions also point to something of the same kind of coarse humour:—

> Although but brass yet let me pass.
>
> Welcome you be to trade with me.
>
> When you please, I'll change these.
>
> Take these that will, I'll change them still.
>
> To supply the poore's need is charity indeed,

and upon a square token, 'Square dealing is best.' A strange inscription is, 'Send me to the mercer at Gnoshall; God grant peace.' Another somewhat strange inscription is, 'Touch not mine anointed, and doe my prophets no harm,' and has evident reference to a loyal expression as to the terrible event of 1649, and is issued in that year.

A token of Exeter reads,

> Mary Moore 1651 = Exeter
> Drink ye all of this = a Communion Cup,

and may either have reference to the issuer's opinion as to the practice of the Roman church in refusing the cup to the laity; or it may be that in some Exeter churches the practice prevalent amongst Presbyterians may have been existing, that of requiring a token to be given up by each communicant, to prove their presence; and Mary Moore may have had a double object in view in striking and issuing her token.

The question of spelling in the seventeenth century must

claim a little attention. It was, *to say the least*, erratic and peculiar, and the illiterate character of the issuers is well shown by the strange spelling. The word Peterborough, for example, is spelt ten different ways in only twenty-five tokens; one issuer exercising considerable ingenuity, and spelling it PEETERBOVROWGH. The simple word Dorking is spelt in five ways; and Guildford in seven; while such peculiar names as Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Higham Ferrars, Monastereven, Cholmondeley, and Enniskillen, are, of course, marvels of remarkable spelling. A phonetic character is, however, to be noticed in much of the peculiar spelling.

The name Furneaux, always pronounced Furnace, in Devon, is so spelt: and Ottery St. Mary reads Awtry, in exact correspondence with local pronunciation. Honiton reads Huniton; Dorking, Darkin; Luton, Lewton; Taunton, Tanton; Somerset, Summerset; and Silverton, Silferton; and the county of Essex, SX; and Arndell for Arundell. Penny generally is spelt PENY, the old spelling still retained in our Book of Common Prayer.

The earlier names for many towns are used on the tokens, as Smithwick, for Falmouth; Mount Paladore and Shaston for Shaftesbury; and Salop for Shrewsbury; Redriff for Rotherhithe; and the frequent occurrence in this country of the same name to various places, as, for instance, Henley, Newport, Milbrook, Stratton, and the St. Ives and St. Neots in both Cornwall and Hunts, somewhat increases the difficulty of knowing to which town the token belongs. With that characteristic John Bullism of the Englishman, but few issuers condescended to more definitely state their place of issue; and as in the case of Newport there are at least twenty towns of the same name, the difficulty of correctly placing the tokens is considerable.

The letters J and U never appear on the tokens; their place is filled by I and V, and on one token on which the entire alphabet appears, together with the figures of a schoolmaster and an abacus, these two letters are absent. The word 'the' is constantly abbreviated to Ye. Conjoint letters

are another of the peculiarities of the spelling, and show the prevalent use of such ligatures in English at that date. E-, AB, Ǝ, HK, ML, NL, and other letters are constantly found conjoined in the legends, and were also used (as before referred to) as merchant marks and monograms.

In some instances an interesting light is thrown upon the buildings and streets of the place of issue. Tokens issued at Buttis Gate and North Gate, Colchester, preserve the names of those ancient gateways ; Olevant Stair and Redriff Wall the memory of the Elephant landing-steps and the Rotherhithe Wall ; and on a token of Bideford, the old beacon on the bridge, long since removed, is depicted. In very many cases reference is made to gateways, streets, paths, and buildings long since demolished, and to those who lived in and near them. A token of Rayleigh bears a bull with a ring in its mouth, and probably was struck at the inn standing on what is now termed Bull Yard, a name without much meaning until a ring and stump a few years since were dug up on the spot, and it was then seen that the token represented a bull being baited, and that this amusement was carried on in that yard. Names of patron-saints now seldom heard of are also preserved on these tokens, as St. Alkmund and St. Sidwell. The prevalence of coffee-houses is referred to, many tokens being struck at these houses and bearing a hand pouring out coffee, and in some cases a kind of urn or samovar. Their sign was generally that of a Turk's head or Morat, and on one token are the words, 'Coffee, Tobacco, Sherbet, Tea, and Chocolate, in Exchange Alley, London.' A West-country token was struck at the 'Pack Horse Inn' and bears a pack saddle on it, and it has been the means of identifying the portion of bridlepath or pack-saddle road in a village about which there was some doubt, but the inn that was situated near it having been proved by the token to have once borne the name of 'Pack Horse,' the position of the road was fixed. The persistence of local names is another subject upon which the tokens give some information of value, and their use in tracing ancestry has already been noticed. No names are so persistent

in village life as those of the old inns, and tokens bearing their signs and names in country villages are often of great interest from the inns or at least their signs still remaining. In many cases the village inn derived its sign from a *portion* of the coat armour of the landed proprietor, as, for instance, the 'Spread Eagle' of Midhurst, close to the magnificent seat of the Montagues, Cowdray Park, and the Cats or Leopards often met with in villages near which the Dorset family had property. Even when the family have long since passed from that district the village sign remains the same, and proves the one little connection between the coat from which it is taken and the property surrounding the inn. Many inns named on tokens, and which were at the time good and well-known posting-houses, still remain; and the 'White Hart' at Harford Bridge, 'Phœnix' at Harley Row, 'Anchor' at Liphook, 'Fountain' at Portsmouth, and 'Bell' at Romsey—all in Hampshire—besides those already named in Sussex, are only examples of many scores of cases in which the present day and the old token tell the same tale, although it is to be feared that the measure of business done by many of these houses is very different now to what it was.

Tokens issued by inns have an additional interest from the fact that they are often referred to by the gossipy old chronicler Samuel Pepys, and in many cases the hosts of the inns where he stopped were the identical issuers of the tokens. To take but one instance:

Two tokens of Bishop's Stortford bear the name of the 'Reindeer' inn, and the name and initials of a Mr. and Mrs. Aysworth, and thus Pepys speaks, October 7, 1667:—'Before night we came to Bishops Stortford, where Lowther and his friend did meet us again and carried us to the "Raynedeere," where Mrs. Aysworth, who lived heretofore at Cambridge, and whom I knew better than they think for, do live. It was the woman that amongst other things was great with my cousin Baruston of Cottenham, and did use to sing to him, and did teach me, "Full 40 times over," a very lewd song—a woman they are well acquainted with, and is

here what she was at Cambridge. But there was so much tearing company in the house that we could not see the Landlady, so I had no opportunity of renewing my old acquaintance with her.' Lord Braybrooke, in a note on this entry, gives us the information that this woman was a noted procuress, banished from Cambridge for her evil courses, and who then settled at Bishop's Stortford.

The Journal of Pepys abounds in information relative to many of the inns of that time and to their hosts, and in many instances there is an identity between those named by him as keeping the inns and the issuers of the tokens.

Another author of a far less pleasing character must be noted in connection with this branch of the subject, the unknown author of the 'Journal of Drunken Barnaby.' He also refers to many of the country inns which can be identified by their tokens. He mentions the 'Mother Redcap' at Holloway, the 'George' at Wakefield, and the 'Bull' at Rotherham, and others, and thereby adds his quota of interest to the old inn issuing its token in his time. Barnaby in one case refers to giving away a token in the following words:—

> Thence to Harrington, be it spoken,
> For Name-sake I gave a token
> To a Beggar that did crave it
> And as cheerfully receive it :
> More he need't not me importune,
> For 'twas th' utmost of my fortune.

But it is clear that he refers to the regal farthing of James I., issued under a patent secured by Lord Harrington in 1613, which coins, weighing only six grains each, and being so badly struck, and on such thin, breakable metal, were universally refused, and, although a large fortune was made by the Harrington family, they were execrated by the people for forcing this coinage upon them.

Shakespeare's reference to the 'Boar's Head' at Eastcheap, which was frequented by Falstaff, Bardolph, Pistol, and others, and Ben Jonson's reference to the 'Devil and

Dunstan,' near Temple Bar, and to the 'Cock,' afterwards made notorious by Tennyson, must not be forgotten, as all these inns issued their tokens.

Reference is also made by Sir William Dugdale in his 'Diary' to tavern tokens, and to many of the London and country inns which issued them, and to their acceptance and currency, while a relation of the poetical and political Edmund Waller is amongst the issuers. The relative prosperity of some traders is shown by their issuing more than one series of tokens, and in some cases both half-penny and farthing tokens. Some men year by year issued tokens bearing following dates, in many cases of new device, requiring the cutting of new dies and the incurring of no small expense.

After marriage very often a fresh token is issued. In Saffron Walden, two grocers, both issuers, one evidently a widow, married, and issued a new token bearing the new initials. They were evidently grocers of importance, as the town records show heavy bills paid to them for goods for the mayor's dinners.

A Devonshire grocer issued tokens for four villages, Tawton, Chagford, Moreton, and Zeal, and it is evident from that that the spirit of trade enterprise, prompting to having four distinct businesses, was not wanting in the villages of Devon in 1650. Grocers and mercers, in fact, in this county and that of Dorset, abound, and constitute the bulk of the issuers; but it is curious that many men styling themselves mercers use the grocers' arms on the token, so that evidently they carried on both trades. In St. Ives an issuer refers to his business at Ramsey, and in Tewkesbury it is interesting to see tokens issued by four different firms, each token bearing the name of both partners in the firm. Partnerships in Tewkesbury were evidently popular and successful.

It is not, however, *solely* on their own account, or intrinsically, that we claim historical value for these little mementoes of the seventeenth century, but for a further reason—that the work of correctly placing them to the counties and towns in which they were issued, and of preparing for

the collector correct lists of the tokens of his county, leads inevitably to sources of information being tapped from which important and interesting historical evidence often flows. The *mere* necessity in towns of similar name of searching parish and corporation records to identify the issuer with the place of issue, and to explain the often puzzling and curious devices used by the issuers, has led to obtaining many notes respecting the life and history of these issuers; and when to this the ardent collector brings a fervent archæological spirit and determines that the history of the man who issued this token shall be found out and laid clear before him, a great bulk of information on the domestic life in England about 1650 is obtained.

For instance, in Essex a very large number of tokens were issued by the people known as Friends, and even now, in such towns as Dunmow, Saffron Walden, and Braintree, the number of successful resident Friends is far in excess of the average. Reference to the works on the persecution of the Friends gives much information on the terrible troubles undergone for religion's sake by this much-persecuted sect, and in many instances identifies many of the issuers as Friends, proves the accuracy of the initials on the reverse by giving the names of the wives, and shows the trades in which they engaged and the measure of prosperity that attended them.

Again, the memorial of a tokener of King's Lynn is found in his gift of two folio service books for the altar of St. Margaret's Church, and, although the token terms him a mercer, it is evident from his gift and the inscription accompanying it that the sale and purchase of books was also carried on by him.

The name of Hovell—rather important at the present time—also appears on another Lynn token, and researches give the same name to the then member, Sir William Hovell, and to the mayor, giving us the note that this important family carried on trade in the town while one of its members sat in the House and another as chief magistrate. One issuer is proved to have sold his possessions and become

a trooper in the Commonwealth army. Another issuer originally possessed Foulsham Hall, Norfolk, and sold it to the Atthill family, who have been resident in one parish for upwards of four and a half centuries, and who also issued tokens. Another was a poor boy and a town apprentice, but eventually rose to prosperity and became mayor of the town that had originally befriended him, and issued his token. One man you find as receiving five shillings for being an informer against a stranger for travelling on a fast day. Another styles himself on his token proudly, 'Freeman of England.' And the decease of a third is recorded amongst the list of those who were 'buried in woollen.'

A Plymouth draper having a rather unusual device is found to be one mentioned in the account of the siege as 'tarring capes for the centinels,' and was evidently, therefore, the progenitor in *that* part of the country of a species of waterproofing.

Many whose trades and history are comparatively unknown have come down with importance to the present day as the founders of local charities, often now of great value. Four brothers in Essex issuing tokens were contributors to the extent of 1,350*l.* at the surrender of Colchester, and must evidently have been men of unusually large substance. Edward Owner, of Yarmouth, who describes himself as a grocer on his token, endowed the Children's Hospital in that town with 1,500*l.* He was Member for the town in 1620–25, 1639, and 1640, with Miles Corbett the Regicide, and was one of those who opposed Ship Money. A Brighton issuer married the captain of the vessel in which King Charles escaped from England, and another was the original tenant of the 'Old Ship Inn,' still remaining. The initials of one issuer, marked on his token in a somewhat unusual way, are to be found carved in the wall of the church, in Surrey, near where he is said to have lived, in this same strange manner; and the initials of another issuer, and the coat armour he bore on his token, are found on an earthenware jug dug up near the village in Norfolk in which he resided. One issuer is proved

to have been a searcher for the Grocers' Company, to find out adulterated goods and to prove short weight; and another applies to the mayor to be allowed to punish a man for disobeying the laws of the Merchant Taylors as to being a journeyman. One proclaims himself a Nonconformist by refusing to take the oath of supremacy; another is sued and fined for neglecting to take up his freedom in his native town; a third, turned out of the town for setting up in trade not being free of the town; and a fourth is the bellman, going round by order of the mayor to cry that none do refuse to receive the tokens —*his own, of course, amongst the number*; and another is fined seven shillings for profanely swearing seven oaths, and the money is paid to the churchwardens. One man issues a token while unmarried, and the following year another with his wife's initials, but the parish register proves he was not legally married for three years after his second token was issued; another marries twice, and puts the initials of both wives on his later token, while a third puts 'Issued by me,' and gives no name or initials. Not a single issuer at Wells, however, gives a wife's initials, and surmise conjectures if all the leading traders in that city were bachelors. An issuer at Kendal was the inventor of the green woollen material known as 'Kendal green,' and referred to both by Shakespeare and Dryden, and bears as his token the teasel and wool hook, and on the reverse the wool comb; his token represented his trade, and his trade made him his name and fortune. The Company of Shearmen of Kendal issued their token, and on it we find the cropper's shears, then the important implement of the trade for cropping cloth; and, on the token issued in the same town by the Mercers, we find the wool hooks and spindles that, at a later date, were adopted as the Borough arms, but here appear as the arms of the local guild of mercers. On a Marlborough token we find a clasped book and the name of John Hammond, and in the town records occurs this touching entry:—'The Royalists took Marlboro' in 1642, and for 3 hours fed a fire with Hammond's books;' and further on, in Hammond's writing, 'I have but little left; I have saved not above £8

worth of all my goods and books; my children are crying to go home, and I tell them we have no home to go to. God help me! what shall I do?'

A token of Glastonbury, bearing a representation of the Holy Thorn, illustrates local religious tradition, and many bearing an eagle and child, in Lancashire, refer to a popular story that was eventually taken as the *motif* for the crest of the Stanley family. Another popular story, 'The Babes in the Wood,' is illustrated on a token of Liverpool; while religious emblems, such as the bleeding heart, lamb and flag, dove and olive branch, &c., testify to the religious feeling of the issuers. The Christian names found on the tokens afford some evidence of the religious feeling of the time. The Puritan desire to adopt biblical names is very clearly shown. To take one county, issuing not one hundred tokens—the names Timothy, Jehoshaphat, Solomon, Moses, Martha, Mary, Simon, Jonas, Joseph, Andrew, Peter, John, Paul, Philip, Daniel, Nathanael, Abraham, Isaac, Jonathan, Elias, Samuel, Hannah, Eleazar, and Baruch are found among those of the issuers. One man in Somerset quarters the implements of his trade as a brushmaker: the boring instrument, the pigs for the bristles, and the bristles themselves, together with his own hand, and forms quite a respectable coat of arms, besides informing us that in such a small village as South Petherton the industry of brushmaking was carried on. An issuer of the name of Treagle, in Taunton, bearing an open book, has been identified as the same man mentioned on the title-page of some Civil War publications entitled 'Man's Wrath and God's Praise,' being sermons preached in Taunton, printed at the Marigold in St. Paul's Churchyard, and sold by George Treagle in Taunton. This man appears to have been the earliest bookseller known in Somerset. The staple trade of Wellington, in Somerset, is clearly denoted by the shears and woolpacks appearing on many of the tokens, and it is significant of the persistence of industries that the same style of work is still the most important one in the town. Very many tokens, especially in Devon were issued by widows or

single women, and in some cases the issuers announce this fact upon their tokens quite boldly.

Examples might be brought forward without number illustrative of the special point one desires to put forward, namely, the value of the tokens as incentives to further careful research into county and local topography and history, and, as such, aids of considerable importance to the painstaking student.

It is, perhaps, to be feared that in direct information the tokens have but little valuable news to tell us, but it is claimed for them that in glimpses and side views of village and municipal life they are of interest. They give us certain ideas about these traders of a past age, of their families and descent, their habits and business, their prosperity and failure, their humour and religion, loyalty and enterprise, prison life and home life, education and government, that but few other records can equally well inform us upon; they speak of a public necessity, and of the people remedying it themselves while the Government argued and theorised; they tell of an independent spirit both in men and corporations; they speak loudly of the prosperity of the seventeenth-century trader and of the existence and importance of local trades and local industries, and they lead us to search deeper and closer into the history, life, and times of those village shopkeepers and village Hampdens who had so important a share in making our country and its history, and in preparing it to fill the position of high responsibility and paramount dignity that it now holds.

This paper was illustrated by a collection of tokens arranged to illustrate more specially the following points :—

A. Varieties of local self-government.
B. Arms ot trading companies.
C Peculiarities of spelling.
D The issue being specially for the poor.
E. Local trade enterprise.

F. Inns referred to by Pepys, Barnaby, Shakespeare, Dugdale, Ben Jonson, and Tennyson.
G. Coffee-house tokens.
H. London trading tokens with signs.
I. Peculiarities of shape and metal.
K. Special loyalty.
L. Leathern tokens.
M. Illegal minor currency.
N. Merchants' marks and family arms.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF EDWARD III.

By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* May 17, 1888.)

I. Current opinion regarding Edward III.
II. His schemes for developing the resources of the realm.
III. (i.) Plenty for the consumer; (ii.) Planting new industries; (iii.) Discouraging thriftlessness.
IV. These objects of policy (not the means for attaining them) harmonise with modern views.
V. Political conditions for these commercial schemes: Sovereignty of the sea and suzerainty of Gascony and Flanders.
VI. The Treaty of Bretigny.
VII. Failure to secure the political conditions necessary for his commercial scheme.
VIII. Merchant companies—their power in London.
IX. Their political influence and practical aims.
X. (i.) The jealousy of aliens; (ii.) Encouragement of shipping; (iii.) Accumulation of bullion.
XI. Plenty or power.

I. THE current fashion which despises 'drum and trumpet' histories has affected the ordinary estimate of certain historical personages: the man who was merely a great commander, who did not obviously devote himself to constitutional changes and the amelioration of the lot of the people, secures but faint praise from a democratic age. This is noticeably true of current language in regard to Edward III.; his reign is dismissed as 'brilliant,' and his achievements condemned as 'barren,' and these depreciatory judgments are confirmed by other circumstances. There was something hollow and unreal in the chivalry of his Court; it was self-conscious and theatrical; while it is difficult to believe that the claim to the French Crown, which was put forward at the

beginning of the Hundred Years' War, was altogether serious; it rested on such special pleading and was pressed so fitfully. It is obvious, too, that at the end of the reign the country was much exhausted by the long struggles in which the King had engaged, and it is easy to accuse him of pursuing his own personal ambitions lightly and recklessly.

But, after all, we may be too ready to discount the brilliancy of his victories; and if his reign was 'barren' this may not have been wholly his fault. We may remember that something like half the population was swept away by the Black Death, and that the agricultural and industrial systems of the day passed through an unexampled crisis. The ineffectiveness of his old age and the weakness of his successor must also be taken into account if we attempt to judge of his reign by its results. The only way to arrive at an opinion that shall be really fair is to examine the policy that was pursued not with regard to its *success*, but with regard to its *wisdom*. No man is to be condemned for failure, but he is a poor statesman who is careless of national well-being or whose measures are ill-judged.

It is impossible to accuse Edward of carelessness in regard to the national well-being, for he was certainly not indifferent to the development of the resources of the realm; but the very frequency of his interference in commercial affairs makes his action appear spasmodic, and the *laissez-faire* economist does not pause to attempt to understand the objects Edward had in view before condemning all interference as unwise. But if we give a little more attention to the matter we may find that, in spite of practical exigencies, Edward did on the whole maintain a definite policy in regard to the development of the resources of the realm, and that the objects he had in view were thoroughly sensible, even when he was not altogether happy in the selection of means for attaining them. If we examine his policy for the industry and commerce of his own realm we shall at least be in a better position for apprehending the issues that were involved in his Continental wars.

II. The statute-book is perhaps the chief source for information as to his economic schemes, though there is a considerable amount of his commercial legislation which we may leave out of account, as it has no direct bearing on the subject of our enquiry. Laws that were intended to enforce fair dealing, according to the ideas of the time, do not concern us: laws about engrossing and retailing or about the assize of bread and wine have reference to the fairness in the conduct of trade: they have their parallel in the Adulteration Acts of the present day. Fair dealing would ultimately promote prosperity if honesty is the best policy; but it was a very indirect expedient *for developing the resources of the realm*, and we wish to see what were the methods which Edward desired to employ for this special purpose. Similarly some of his measures were probably intended primarily to facilitate the collection of revenue, and these too we must leave out of account at present. When these matters are set aside, however, we see that there were three main objects in his commercial policy—(i.) to increase the volume of English trade with Continental towns; (ii.) to plant new industries; (iii.) to check thriftlessness.

III. (i.) The increase of foreign commerce would be a direct personal gain to the King: it brought him a revenue by means of customs and it was the means of supplying articles which were in constant use at Court. Both of these objects might be attained by the increase of the volume of trade, whether it was carried on by denizens or aliens, and so long as the volume of trade increased he was apparently indifferent who carried it on. Perhaps the strongest statement occurs in the preamble of the first statute of the ninth year, which confers full freedom of traffic on aliens and annuls the charters of privileges under which the burgesses of certain cities had put hindrances in the way of their trading. 'Great Duress and grievous damage have been done to the King and his people, by some people of Cities, Boroughs, Ports of the Sea and other Places of the said Realm which in long time past have not suffered nor yet will suffer Merchant Strangers

nor other which do carry and bring in, by Sea or Land, Wines, *Aver de Pois*, and other Livings and Victuals, with divers other things to be sold, necessary and profitable for the King, his Prelates, Earls, Barons and other Noblemen, and the Commons of this Realm, to sell or deliver such Wines, Livings, or Victuals, or other things to any other than themselves of the Cities, Boroughs, Ports of the Sea, or other Places where such Wines, Livings or Victuals, and other things to be sold shall be brought or carried, by reason whereof such stuff aforesaid is sold to the King and his People, in the hands of the said Citizens, Burgesses and other People, Denizens more dear than they should be, if such Merchant Strangers which bring such things into the Realm might freely sell them to whom they would.'[1] Aliens appear to have taken great advantage of the freedom thus accorded, for in the seventeenth year of Edward III. it was found necessary to subject them to direct taxation, according to the length of their sojourn, when it exceeded forty days.[2] But the freedom of merchants—especially in the wool trade—was further confirmed in the following year,[3] and for a time this important export trade was monopolised by aliens to the exclusion of English merchants.

There was also an attempt to facilitate communication with the Continent by imposing a statutory limitation on the fare which might be charged between Dover and Calais of *6d.* for a man on foot and *2s.* for a man with a horse.[4] The same statute contains clauses which have reference to fair dealings in the wine trade; the avowed object was to favour the English consumer. English merchants were placed at a positive disadvantage in competing with foreigners, and as a consequence English shipping was practically ruined; but, for all that, the amount of exports and imports may have been very considerable. The complicated organisation of the staple

[1] 9 Ed. III. st. i. preamble, and c. 1.
[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 137.
[3] 18 Ed. III. st. ii. c. 3; also *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 286.
[4] 4 Ed. III. c. 8.

and the ports of passage[1] indicates the existence of great commercial activity.

(ii.) The best known of Edward's attempts to plant a new industry[2] by the immigration of Flemish weavers to Norfolk was made under singularly favourable circumstances. The high-handed conduct of Philip of France had roused much distrust among the manufacturers of Flanders; the jealousy between towns and villages rendered many of the Flemings ready to emigrate; while the policy which English kings had pursued towards their craftsmen and the position of Philippa as Queen may have attracted them specially to England. The material advantages are depicted in startling terms by the historian of the University of Cambridge: 'Now the intercourse being settled between the English and Netherlands, unsuspected emissaries were employed by our King into those countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with those Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their trade, but not masters of themselves, as either journeymen or apprentices. These bemoaned the slavishness of these poor servants whom their masters used rather like heathen than Christians; yea, rather like horses than men; early up and late in bed, and all day hard work, and harder fare (a few herrings and mouldy cheese), and all to enrich the churls, their masters, without any profit to themselves. But how happy should they be if they would but come into England, bringing their mystery with them, which should provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on beef and mutton, till nothing but their fatness should stint their stomachs. . . . Happy the yeomen's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within doors soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them; yea, these yeomen in whose houses they laboured soon

[1] Hall, *Customs*, ii. 1.
[2] W. J. Ashley, *Woollen Industry*, 40.

proceeded gentlemen, gaining great worship to themselves arms and worship to their estates.'[1]

The King, moreover, conferred substantial privileges on the new industry; he prohibited the export of English wool, so that the manufacturers might have the material cheap; he insisted that all Englishmen should wear native cloth, and limited the class who might wear fur, while he forbade the importation of foreign cloth. The manufacturers had thus a complete monopoly of the market. But this could not have been long, if indeed it was ever, enforced.[2] At the same time the fullest protection was promised to weavers who chose to come and settle here.[3] Whether all this protection was necessary to secure a footing for the new manufacture or not,[4] it had not been done before measures were taken to ensure that the monopoly should be well used. Before the immigration there was a machinery for regulating the quality and size of cloths exposed for sale. An assize of cloth had been ordained, so that the merchant might know what he was buying, an alnager was appointed to see that the workmen complied with the regulations. They complained about his interference,[5] but there were counter-complaints as to frauds on the part of the weavers, which injured the trade, and they did not succeed in making out such a case as to procure the abolition of the office.[6] It is, of course, possible that Edward might have accomplished his object more speedily if he had made his effort in some other form; but the fact remains that he did introduce the manufacture of the 'old drapery,' which was prosecuted so successfully that the export of raw wool declined as the home manufacture came to flourish more and more.[7] It is interesting

[1] Fuller, *Church History*, ii. 285.

[2] Compare 27 Ed. III. c. 4, where the grievances of foreigners importing cloth are redressed.

[3] *Statutes*, 11 Ed. III. cc. 1–5. [4] Mill, *Political Economy*, v. x. § 1.

[5] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 28, 409. Observe the early date of the first reference to the Worsted trade (1328).

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 252.

[7] In the reign of Henry VII. the custom on exported wool was financially unimportant.—Hall, *Customs*, ii. 139.

to observe, too, how closely many subsequent efforts to plant new industries followed on the lines which Edward III. laid down, and secured a monopoly to the craftsmen, while they at the same time tried to insist on a high standard of excellence in the wares produced.

This does not appear, however, to have been the only attempt of the kind that was made during the reign of Edward III. In 1368[1] three clockmakers from Delft were encouraged to settle and ply their trade in London. This is the first mention of an industry in which Englishmen have gradually attained a very high proficiency.

(iii.) *Repression of thriftlessness.*—The measure which has been already noticed in regard to the wearing of furs was at any rate partially protective; there were, however, other sumptuary laws which had no similar excuse, but were merely intended to check idle extravagance and to promote thrift. The chroniclers are agreed that the success of the English arms on the Continent and the loot which was brought from France tended to demoralise the nation in this respect; but even before this time there was a great increase of extravagance. We can see it in the accounts which survive of tournaments: the subjects might certainly plead that if they did indulge in costly display they were only following the example the King had set them, especially on his visit to the Emperor, when apparently he was forced to pawn his crown[2] in order to get money for himself and his retinue. In the earlier part of his reign he had legislated against luxurious living: 'No man shall cause himself to be served in his house or elsewhere at dinner, meal, or supper, or at any other time with more than two courses, and each mess of two sorts of victuals at the utmost, be it of flesh or fish, with the common sorts of pottage, without sauce or any other sort of victuals: and if any man chose to have sauce for his mess he well may, provided it be not made at great cost: and if flesh or fish are to be mixed therein, it shall be of two sorts only at the utmost,

[1] Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 72.
[2] Longmans, *Edward III.* i. 170.

either fish or flesh, and shall stand instead of a mess.'[1] A later statute regulates the apparel of every class of the community. It appoints the diet and apparel of servants, of handicraftsmen and yeomen, as well as their wives and children; it explains what apparel gentlemen under the estate of knights may wear, what knights with lands of 200 marks may wear, and what those with 400 marks may have; and includes details for the guidance of merchants, citizens, burgesses, and handicraftsmen, the several sorts of clerks and ploughmen and men of mean estate. At the same time it insists that clothiers shall make sufficient cloth at the various prices permitted to different classes, so that there may be no excuse for infringing the law.[2] It is obvious that the artisans of this period—just after the Black Death—must have been in most prosperous circumstances if they could attempt to ruin themselves by wearing the fabrics that are forbidden to them by this curious law.

IV. Now if we for a moment ignore the means by which these objects were pursued, and look only to the objects themselves, we may find that the commercial policy of Edward III. harmonises more closely with modern principles than do the schemes of his successors. He desired to increase the volume of trade, and he legislated in the interest of the consumer, and in disregard of the claims of particular classes, and so do we. He endeavoured to develop a manufacture for which the country was specially suited, and to do so he showed himself completely cosmopolitan in inviting foreign artisans. We could find ample parallels to his proceedings in our colonies if not in the mother country to-day. He set himself to encourage thrift among the labouring population—more, it is true, by precept than example—and modern economists, especially of the Ricardo type, have followed on the same line. The necessity of procuring large supplies forced him at times to make heavy demands from the commercial classes, and to levy heavy taxes either in money or kind, but this did not in

[1] 10 Ed. III. st. iii. *De cibariis utendis.*
[2] 37 Ed. III. cc. 8-15.

itself prove he was careless of the interests of commerce. Taxation *cannot but* hamper trade. If there were no taxes, and the government went on equally well without, trade would prosper, as a northern chamber of commerce saw when they recently petitioned a Chancellor of the Exchequer to decrease direct taxation as prejudicial to thrift, and then petitioned him to abolish indirect taxes as fettering trade. But government must be maintained, and taxation is a necessary evil. The methods of taxation which Edward adopted were undoubtedly expensive; it may be doubted, however, whether the pressure on the subjects generally was heavier than if he had adopted other financial schemes; but money had to be got somehow if the wars were to be maintained. The critics have really assumed that the wars were merely idle and resultless; that there was no good reason for entering on them at all, but that they were a mere extravagance: and therefore we must look a little more closely *at the political attitude which Edward was forced to assume in trying to carry out the commercial policy which has been already sketched.*

V. The great evil which prevented the increase of foreign commerce in these days was the frightful amount of risk to which merchants were exposed, or to which they exposed each other by the constant practice of piracy. All nations and seamen were equally bad; on one hand, we hear of the evil wrought by the pirates of Scotland, or of the mouth of the Rhine, or St. Malo; on the other, of the misdeeds of the English pirates of Scarborough, Whitby, or Lynn. The practice of reprisal and the granting of letters of marque sometimes gave apparent sanction to these robberies; but the evil was so great that it was one of the main reasons alleged in 1353[1] for removing the staple for English wool, and holding it within the country instead of abroad; and Edward III. made a statesmanlike effort to grapple with this evil. He asserted a claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea,[2] and did his best to give effect to that claim. Edward I. had taken vigorous measures

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 251, No. 32.

[2] First admitted to Edward II. (Stubbs, ii. 380, note 4).

for protecting the persons and property of merchants in their journeys through the land where he reigned, and Edward III. made a real attempt to establish the king's peace upon the seas. The granting of letters of safe conduct, for which special payments were made,[1] was a serious but not always a successful effort[2] to protect the persons of the subjects when travelling by sea. Thus one of the political claims which Edward put forward, and which survived as a cause of offence to the Dutch in the 17th century, was directly due to his attempt to give protection to English merchants on the seas, and to fulfil the primary duty of a sovereign to his subjects.[3]

The commerce of England could not be effectively protected, however, unless the King had a footing on the other side of the sea. The commercial needs of his subjects gave a seriousness to the claim, which had first been put forward as a sort of counter-pleading, to the Crown of France. One great branch of English foreign commerce was the wine trade with Gascony, a fief of France, and English authority there was constantly endangered by the claims of the French King. The whole could not be secure till the English obtained an independent position in this province. The other region with which England traded chiefly was, of course, Flanders: by claiming the French Crown Edward was able to assume the position of overlord in this region, and so to have a definite political status in the chief centre of the English export trade. We may believe that the burghers would welcome an overlord from whom they had no reason to fear such oppression as they had suffered at the hands of Philippe-le-Bel when he asserted himself in 1301.[4] The Edwardian policy towards English towns was a security against that danger; Edward, on the other hand, if he could have succeeded in making good his claim, would have established a commercial empire of a very remarkable character. Flanders, Gascony, and England were so far able

[1] On the constitutional character of these payments see H. Hall, *Customs*, i. 167.

[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 171, No. 58.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 166, No. 11.

[4] Warnkönig, *Hist. de la Flandre*, i. 302.

to supply each other's wants that they would have gained economically by being brought into closer political relations, especially if the waterway between them was effectively kept.

One definite step which Edward took seems to show that there was a real attempt to carry out this scheme with respect to Flanders. The right of coining was generally recognised as a regal right; and almost the only way in which Edward gave practical effect to his claim to the suzerainty of Flanders was the issue of a gold coinage, which was to be current both in England and in Flanders. This was one of the many expedients which Edward adopted in the effort to keep up the standard of the English silver currency. A great deal of bad coin was in circulation, and, as a natural consequence, good coin went abroad or was hoarded as fast as it was issued. In ordinary mercantile transactions it might sometimes be necessary to export bullion, and the issue of new coins of a different metal was a very ingenious attempt to get over some of the practical difficulties connected with the matter. After consultation with the goldsmiths, and in conjunction with the people of Flanders, a gold coin was issued—the noble.[1] The new money was at first somewhat over-rated in England, and people were unwilling to receive it for silver; while it was ordained that no coins but the new gold ones should be allowed to go abroad: further experiment was needed before they could be got into general circulation. The attempt was a most interesting one, and it is curious to see Edward and his advisers struggling with all the difficulties caused by a double standard; but its importance for our immediate purpose lies in the fact that it was a step in the direction of treating of Flanders and England as one commercial country, under the rule of a single king, and thus it gave effect to Edward's claim to suzerainty over Flanders.

From this point of view, then, we may see that the claim to the French Crown was very closely connected with the

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 137. Compare previous proposals for an international currency, *ibid.* ii. 105. Some attempt was also made to come to an agreement about a common silver coinage, Ruding, i. 215; cf. 18 Ed. III. st. ii. c. 6.

prosperity of the two great branches of English trade; but the claim in regard to Flanders was commercially the less pressing. In so far as the artisans were immigrating from Flemish to English towns, and the manufacture was being planted in England itself, there was less object in trying to bring the old manufacturing centres under English rule. Again, London was becoming a more important resort, while the possession of any seaport, like Calais, which might grow into a great mart, and which would serve as a port for protecting the commerce of the Channel, would serve as well as the possession of the Flemish towns. The claim in regard to Flanders might be waived, but Gascony, on the other hand, was the most convenient place from which to obtain wine, and its produce was very superior to anything that Englishmen could hope to grow at home.

VI. This policy, springing as it did out of commercial needs, is sufficiently illustrated by the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360. Edward III. then agreed to renounce his claim to the French Crown, for by its terms he secured all that had rendered that claim of practical value to him. His relations with the Duke of Burgundy were too delicate to allow him to press his claim for suzerainty over Flanders, and it was worth while to sacrifice it for the prospect of peace on the side of Scotland;[1] but while he waived his claim he really secured all that was important in the interests of English commerce. He secured complete regal authority over Gascony and a large area in the south-west of France, the one half of what was needed for English commerce. In Calais he had a port and mart for English goods, which provided for the other branch of trade to some extent.[2] From this point of view we may say that Edward gave up all that might have gratified a merely personal ambition, while he secured, so far as the terms of the treaty were a security, all that was of real importance for English commerce.

VII. Such was the commercial policy of Edward III.;

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 492, §§ 31, 32.
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 487, 489, §§ 1–5, 12.

such was the result of his effort to secure the political conditions which should be most favourable to the development of English trade and the well-being of the English consumer. It is interesting to notice how his failure to maintain these political conditions was the first step in the chain of events which led to the entire reversal of his scheme of commercial policy. The story of his dealings with Parliament seems to show that in the earlier part of his reign they were favourable to his schemes with respect to France; but that the failure which attended some of his expeditions and the extravagance which characterised them all disgusted them; and even after his great successes he was in frequent straits for want of money. The clouds under which the reign closed[1] rendered the commons still more impatient of schemes that had cost so much and that had failed, and the Good Parliament had much to complain of in connection with the privileges bestowed on foreigners and the miserable condition of English shipping.[2] When in the reign of Richard II. the commercial legislation of the country was revised, it was recast under the influence of entirely different ideas from those which had actuated Edward III. and his advisers. He legislated in the interest of the *consumers*, especially a consuming Court; Parliament during the reign of Richard II. legislated in the interest of the *trading* classes, and especially of the rich London merchants, who had come to possess an amount of power which enabled them to embody their ideas in legislation.

VIII. The growth of the power of the mercantile classes, in spite of the disadvantages of which they complained, during the reign of Edward III. is a very remarkable fact. It was then that the leading companies of merchants, each of which dealt in a particular class of goods, were incorporated or reconstituted. The most detailed account which we have is in regard to the formation of the Grocers' Company, which grew out of two older bodies, as none but Pepperers of Soper

[1] Especially the defeat at La Rochelle in 1372, and the loss of all pretension to the actual sovereignty of the seas.

[2] Cotton's *Abridgment*, pp. 155, 164.

Lane, or Spicerers of the ward of Cheap, were eligible for election to the new fraternity.[1] Formed in 1345, the company grew so rapidly during the next forty years as to arouse the jealousy of other traders;[2] and not without some cause, for they had no fewer than sixteen of their members aldermen, and one of them, Nicholas Brembre, was able to seize the mayoralty by violence in 1385.[3] But the mercers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, vinters, and merchant tailors were also important companies, who took a lead in controlling City affairs in the last years of Edward III. The organisation of these companies doubtless became more definite during this reign: by 37 Ed. III. c. 5 it is enacted that merchants should only deal in one kind of merchandise, while a similar restriction is imposed on artisans by the following clause. Within the city Brembre appears to have busied himself in enforcing this statute, and in particular to have insisted on severing the artisan from the dealer.[4] In this fashion we find the formation of merchant companies as distinct from craft guilds; but the excuse for their formation was precisely similar to that which had led to the growth of the earlier bodies; it was assumed that no man had the skill to deal in all manner of goods, and therefore he was to be kept to the one branch of merchandise to which he had been brought up.

The increasing organisation of the merchants dealing in distinct classes of goods would be of itself a proof of their growing power, but there is other evidence of this: by the second charter of Edward II. the City franchise was practically limited to the members of the trades and mysteries.[5] In 1376 the guilds (both craft and mercantile) replaced the wards as the bodies who elected the common council; several lists printed by Herbert[6] show the proportions in which they returned

[1] Heath, *History of Grocers*, p. 47. [2] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 277.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 225; also *Chronicle of London* (4to. 1827).

[4] Herbert, *Livery Companies*, i. 30, note. In 1385 he disenfranchised several persons for following trades to which they had not been brought up. John Lynn and Nicholas Marchant were free of the haberdashers, but dealt as mercers; Southbrook, a weaver, and Skinner, a tailor, occupied themselves in the drapery business.

[5] Norton, *Commentaries*, p. 429. [6] Herbert, *Livery Companies*, pp. 32, 33.

representatives. Just before Brembre's *coup d'état* (1385) there was apparently a reaction, however: the election to the common council was for the future to be conducted by wards, and not by mysteries; and the mayor was to see that of the whole members returned by the different wards no more than eight should belong to the same company.[1] But though no one company was able to monopolise the government of London, to the exclusion of the others, the important offices were practically reserved by a custom, which continued unbroken for centuries, to the members of the twelve great companies whose wealth had secured them the highest status.[2]

IX. But it was not merely in municipal matters that the merchants were able to make their power felt; they held the King's purse-strings, and had thus a direct means of putting pressure upon him. That Richard did rely on City magnates with regard to his political schemes is shown by the fact that Brembre was implicated in his projects and suffered for it in 1387. Like other kings, Richard found he needed to borrow either in anticipation of revenue or for the sake of some exceptionally large expenditure which he hoped to defray in the course of several years. Edward I. had expelled the Jews. Edward III. had ruined the Bardi, and his transactions with individual Englishmen were recklessly extravagant.[3] Richard II. seems to have borrowed chiefly, though not by any means exclusively, from corporate bodies; on one occasion he pledged his jewels with the City of London, and obtained 9,000*l.*; but all the mercantile and manufacturing centres had to contribute large sums on different occasions.[4] The towns from which the King thus wished to borrow—even though they were unwilling creditors—were in a position to make their views felt more directly and effectively than by petitions in Parliament; and the wealthy citizens had not only the control

[1] *Liber Albus*, i. 462.

[2] On the early history of the great companies see Aungier's Introduction to the *French Chronicle of London* (Camden Society), xviii.; also Herbert, *Livery Companies*, p. 37.

[3] See the case of Richard Lyons, *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 324.

[4] Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, ii. 588, 598, 608.

of the City affairs, but a very real voice in political matters as well.

X. There were two practical matters in regard to which the City merchants succeeded at last in giving effect to their views.

(i.) They had waged a long struggle with Edward III. about the privileges he conferred on aliens. The whole difficulty sprang out of the guild organisation, which was among other things the police system of the City: no man could obtain the freedom of the City unless six men of the same mystery were ready to undertake for him. The alien who resided permanently in the City was neither under authoritative control nor was he liable for his fair share of taxation. Hence in his first charter Edward III. straitly commanded 'all merchant strangers coming to England to sell their wares and merchandises within forty days after their coming thither,' and obliged them to continue and board with the free hosts of the City (and other cities and towns in England), without any households or societies by them to be kept.'[1]

In the ninth year of this reign, however, Parliament passed a statute conferring very large privileges on aliens: it enacted that all 'merchant strangers and English-born and every of them, of what estate or condition soever . . . might without impediment freely sell the same victuals or wares to whom they would, as well to foreigners as English-born, and this in despite of any local charters to the contrary.' The citizens of London, however, claimed the privileges conferred on them in the recently confirmed Great Charter, and Edward, by a charter in the eleventh year of his reign, ordained that nothing should be done by pretext of the late statute which infringed the ancient privileges of the City.[2]

The privileges conferred on aliens were somewhat enlarged by the 25 Ed. III. stat. iv. c. 2, which asserts the right of foreigners to sell to foreigners, all over the kingdom, and sets aside all charters that would hinder them. Possibly as a

[1] 1327. Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 788.
[2] Noorthouck, p. 790.

result of this legislation we find renewed complaints of encroachments, however, towards the end of Edward's reign, and notably in the Good Parliament.[1] The answer which was given to the petition was embodied with more precision in a final charter granted by Edward III. to the City of London, which ordains that no stranger 'shall from henceforth sell any wares in the same city or the suburbs thereof by retail, nor be any broker in the said city or suburbs thereof, any statute or ordinance made to the contrary notwithstanding.' There was, however, one body whose privileges dated from long before the Great Charter, and the rights of the merchants of High Almaine (Hanse League) were carefully preserved.[2]

This did not, however, set the matter at rest; the controversy was reopened in the very beginning of Richard's reign, when a statute was passed giving aliens permission to sell by retail as well as by gross, and to sell to one another.[3] The City of London once more struck in at this infraction of their rights; the King reaffirmed the ancient privileges, but in doing so he made a further exception in favour of his subjects in Aquitaine.[4] The inner history of this see-saw of legislation and charters might be instructive if we had the means of following it out: the privileges of the aliens were again and again affirmed by statute,[5] but in the end the citizens were too strong for them, and carried a measure after their own heart,[6] for it prohibited aliens from selling to one another and from selling by retail. The statutes of Edward III. which had conferred these privileges upon them were now repealed, and this portion of his policy, for encouraging foreigners to come here with their goods, was discarded for many reigns.

(ii.) The other point of practical importance on which mercantile opinion insisted was that encouragement should

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 332, 347. In these petitions the dearness of imported goods is referred to, but apparently as due to the decay of English shipping, or to combinations among aliens.

[2] Noorthouck, *History*, p. 792.

[3] 2 Ric. II. st. i. c. 1, §§ 5, 7.

[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, iii. 27.

[5] 5 Ric. II. st. ii. c. 1; 11 Ric. II. c. 7; 14 Ric. II. c. 9.

[6] 16 Ric. II. c. 1.

be given to English shipping, in order to increase the navy of England,[1] and the King's subjects were forbidden to import or export merchandise except in ships of the King's allegiance. In this and similar measures, as that against mariners deserting the King's service,[2] which were passed during this reign, we have the first examples of the many navigation laws, which embodied the commercial policy of England for centuries.

(iii.) One other point is worth at least a passing mention. Edward III. had devoted much attention to the question of exchanges and the maintenance of a good currency, but his legislation on the subject does not seem to attach any importance to the retention of gold and silver bullion as a source of strength to the country that possessed them. The mere fact that he issued a coinage for international circulation seems to show that he did not take the bullionist view of the importance of retaining all the precious metals which found their way to the country. There is, however, a bullionist flavour about the prohibition of exporting gold or silver which was passed in the fifth year of Richard II.: 'Gold and Silver as well in many vessels, plate[3] and jewels, as otherwise by exchange made in diverse manners, is carried out of the realm, so that in effect there is none thereof left, which thing if it should be long suffered would shortly be the destruction of the same realm, which God forbid.'[4] We thus seem to get the first hint of measures which became so common later on for amassing the precious metals within the country, as another step which was taken as soon as the mercantile interest came into power.

Nor was this mercantile legislation merely haphazard, each ordinance a special remedy to meet a special emergency.

[1] 5 Ric. II. i. c. 3. Compare also 6 Ric. II. c. 8, which allowed the use of foreign ships in emergencies, and 14 Ric. II. c. 6, which makes allusion to exorbitant freights.

[2] 2 Ric. II. st. i. c. 4.

[3] 9 Ed. III. st. ii. c. 1, which contains very similar terms, is closely connected with regulations about currency; but this appears to have a different import, as it stands in connection with regulations for trade, and explicitly refers to the destruction of the realm.

[4] 5 Ric. II. st. i. c. 2.

The petitions in the Good Parliament,[1] and the very remarkable royal commission on the depression of trade[2] which reported in the sixth year of Richard's reign, show us that the merchants of the day had clear ideas, and that they were really laying the foundations of the famous mercantile system. The encouragement of natives and discouragement of foreigners, the development of shipping, and the amassing of treasure—these were the three main points of the mercantile programme, and they were all deliberately adopted by the Parliaments of Richard II., who deliberately rejected the opposite policy which had been pursued in each of these particulars by Edward III. The scheme for commerce which they adopted directly favoured the immediate interests of English merchants, while it had obviously grown out of the antipathy to the upland man and the stranger, which characterised the householders of chartered towns. But the rise of nationalities and the increasing bitterness of national rivalries, the discoveries of the New World, and the struggle for the possession of its treasures brought about, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, political conditions which were favourable to the detailed development of the mercantile system, though the main lines of it had been laid down long before.

XI. When Lord Bacon in a well-known passage remarks that Henry VII. 'bowed the ancient policy of this realm from consideration of plenty to consideration of power' he calls attention to the leading characteristic of the commercial action of the Tudor kings; but it was not they who made the change, it really occurred when the City merchants had attained such an influence that they were able to give effect to their own ideas. To some extent, plenty is a condition of power, and the two policies may have much in common; but, whereas Edward III. desired to see large cargoes, whoever brought them, i.e. plenty, the Parliaments of Richard II. desired to have more English ships, even if the home consumers were for a time badly supplied with wine. But the distinction may become clearer for us if we take a modern analogue. In this very

[1] *Rolls of Parl.* ii 347. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 126.

century we have discarded the policy on which the Parliament of Richard II. entered; we no longer seek power, but plenty. The corn-laws were intended to keep up our home food supply, and thus to give us strength. We have repealed them that corn might be cheap, aiming at plenty, not at power; the navigation laws have disappeared, and we are inclined to favour rapid and frequent communications with lands differently conditioned from our own, so that each may be plentifully supplied, though this interdependence may prove a source of weakness; while questions of currency, and especially those connected with a double standard, are felt to be of overwhelming importance, no serious effort is now made to amass treasure as a source of political strength. In fact, we have reverted to the commercial policy of Edward III., a policy framed in the interest of the consumer; a policy which depended for its assured success on the maintenance of stable political relationships with other regions. There are great differences of course: the consumers of foreign produce in Edward's time were the comfortable classes who drank wine, not the masses who needed bread; the area within which the exchange took place was most limited, now it is world-wide; none the less is it true that Cobden has turned the policy of this realm back from considerations of power to considerations of plenty, and we have thus reverted in this 19th century to a line which bears a closer analogy to the policy of Edward III. than it does to the scheme which has been dominant since his time. Perhaps one may add that even when considerations of power are left in the background they cannot be altogether ignored; Edward III. endeavoured to secure the needed political conditions for his commercial scheme, but failed to maintain them, nor have the political relationships of the nations of the world yet reconstituted themselves in accordance with the principle of free interchanges, as Cobden confidently expected that they would.

Discussion.

Mr. W. Haines said: Mr. Cunningham in his very instructive paper suggests the existence of a resemblance between the 'idée mère' of the commercial policy of Edward III. and the 'idée mère' of *the* policy in accordance with which English trade is now regulated.

The interests of the consumer—should it not rather be said *the immediate interests* of the consumer?—being the chief consideration alike in the eyes of the Plantagenet king and of the popular democracy.

Edward we can, by the light of history, pronounce to have been sadly mistaken in preferring any consideration whatsoever to the prosperity of English shipping.

England, Aquitaine, and Flanders formed, roughly speaking, three angles of a great triangle, and both for commercial and for political purposes, the King of England, the overlord of Aquitaine, the ally of Flanders, required, if not the command of, at least the supremacy in, the Channel threatened by Normandy, and the bay threatened by Castile.

When this supremacy was lost, English commerce was all but ruined by Norman pirates, and the English rule in Aquitaine overthrown by the victory of a Castilian fleet off Rochelle.

Defeat abroad resulted in loss of trade and loss of security, and in the reign of Richard II. we hear continually of the depredations of Norman pirates, and the danger of English coast towns. And might not all this have been anticipated and prevented?

In the Middle Ages privateering, and privateering alone, maintained the prestige of, and avenged insults to, the English flag; while the mercantile marine was not, as in later times, the nursery and the reserve of the royal navy, but rather the only substitute for it.

A man-of-war was then simply a merchant ship specially well armed, and perhaps with her bulwarks, &c., raised and strengthened.

The crew were merchant seamen or privateersmen, commanded by their own officers, and, although a knight was usually placed nominally in supreme command, practically he can only have given orders to the passenger archers and men-at-arms, and directions to the ship's master.

By preferring 'considerations of plenty' to 'considerations of power,' Edward III. courted and earned political disgrace and

economic disaster. It will be for the historian of the future to trace the results of the commercial policy now adopted by Great Britain.

Mr. H. E. MALDEN said that the remark had been made that the discussions upon the papers read before the society were no longer so full and interesting as they used to be. From one point of view this was a matter of congratulation, for it meant that the papers read were more complete, founded upon more thoroughly sound, special information, and therefore less easy to criticise than a popular paper generally seems to be.

When called upon to speak upon such a paper as that read by Mr. Roper upon the causes of the Seven Years' War, or upon that read by Mr. Cunningham this evening, he felt in the position of the philosopher who declined to argue with the master of thirty legions. He might make a very slight impression upon one wing of the fifteen legions already brought into line, but he felt that in so doing he ran the risk of bringing the other fifteen down upon him to ensure his total rout and destruction.

Influenced by such a fear he would try to supplement some of Mr. Cunningham's points rather than differ from him.

The connection with Flanders which Edward sought to strengthen was an object which engaged the attention of all our statesmen from Edward I. to that of Elizabeth. Indeed it might be said that the maintenance of our Flemish trade, and the exclusion of French influence from that country, formed the keynote to our foreign policy for three hundred years.

Even since that time the exclusion of French influence from Flanders, but for purely defensive, no longer commercial, reasons, formed a leading object with our governments from Charles I.'s to Lord Palmerston's administration.

It was interesting to notice how the common interest between England and Flanders over-rode temporary political disagreement. When in the fifteenth century Burgundy ruled Flanders, and Burgundians and Armagnacs tore France to pieces in civil war, there was no question which side England must aid. In spite of a little trimming by Henry IV., the English weight was thrown as a whole decisively into the Burgundian scale. There was apparently a secret agreement between Henry V. and the Duke of Burgundy before Agincourt. Though the brother of the latter was killed at Agincourt, the English troops found provisions in the Burgundian villages beyond the Somme, though the purely French villages had been stripped and abandoned at their approach. When in Henry VI.'s reign the Burgundians broke off the English alliance, they prosecuted

hostilities against England for a very short time. After failing to capture Calais, which would have been a valuable possession to them, they made a truce, which was renewed from time to time as it expired. Afterwards, though allied by marriage to the House of Lancaster, the Dukes of Burgundy showed a strong desire to keep on friendly terms with the reigning house in England whatever it was. Charles the Bold married a Yorkist, but his daughter's ministers sought an alliance with the Tudors.

The common interest of Elizabeth and Philip II. in Flanders and against France coloured the whole course of the early history of Elizabeth's reign.

The other English dependency, for such Flanders was in the eyes of Edward III., had played a less continuously interesting part in the history of England. But Guienne and Gascony were for centuries more nearly bound to England than to their nearer overlord at Paris. The people of the towns in particular were strong English partisans, drawn by commercial interest and the municipal advantages they were allowed. Though supposed to be friends of Richard of Bordeaux, they refused on his deposition to put themselves under French protection, but adhered to the House of Lancaster; knowing their own interest too well to seek union with France. The personal tie between the commercial people of Guienne and London must have been close. In the thirteenth century Henry le Waleys was Mayor of London one year and of Bordeaux the next. We perhaps owed a great deal to this intercourse with Aquitaine. The two great organisers of our Parliament, Simon de Montfort and Edward I., had both had experience in ruling Gascony, whence the name 'parliament' seemed to have come, and it was interesting to compare the parliament of De Montfort, in which representatives from towns first found a place, with the famous parliament of Pamiers, called by his father the elder De Montfort after his victories over the Albigenses, in which similar weight was given to the representatives of the towns in Aquitaine, perhaps for the same reasons, the hostility or jealousy of a large part of the baronage.

But to return to the subject immediately before them: there were reasons why the government of Richard II. could not continue the policy of that of Edward III. The latter could look forward to a union of England, Gascony, and Flanders, because he was master of the sea. After the destruction of the French fleet at Sluys and the victory over the piratical Spanish fleet, called the battle of *les Espagnols sur mer*, he was practically unchallenged master till quite the end of his reign. In 1372, however, the Castilian fleet com-

pletely defeated the Earl of Pembroke off La Rochelle. The tables were turned, England was threatened with invasion, and foreign fleets insulted the coasts. England was reduced nearly to the condition of a besieged city, and it became incumbent on the government to husband their internal resources. Particularly it was necessary to encourage English merchant shipping, seeing that the royal navy consisted of merchant vessels, lent or requisitioned for warlike use. He would be inclined to regard the undoubted change of policy by the government of Richard II. as the result of necessity as much as of deliberate choice.

With regard to Edward's policy, he quite agreed with Mr. Cunningham that the reasons for his French wars are to be sought in other directions than a Quixotic desire to gain the French crown. But he was not content to allow the *laissez-faire* economist to sit down under a charge of condemning Edward's commercial measures as unwise without understanding their object. Edward's objects, plenty above all, may have been exceedingly desirable, but it nevertheless may well have been that his interference with the natural action of self-interest was exceedingly unwise. It may be that Cobden, following the Tory statesman, Bolingbroke, Pitt, Canning, Huskisson, and Peel, did bring us back to Edward's *objects*, but it was by avoiding Edward's *means*. The constant interference by statute in the fourteenth century with individual action, in buying, selling, wearing clothes, and paying or receiving wages, pointed to an increasing desire of the individual in a fast-developing civilisation to act for himself.

Incidentally he might add that, with regard to the Flemish trade, it appeared from the 'Libel of English Policy,' of 1436, that our imports from Flanders, in return for our export of wool, included the products of Spain and of Italy and the East, brought to Flanders by sea and overland through Germany, and thence distributed to us.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

By the late RIGHT HON. SIR BARTLE FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., &c.

(*Read* May 1883.)

II.

[The first portion of this paper is in Vol. II., N.S., of the Society's Transactions. The MS. of this portion, upon which Sir Bartle Frere was engaged at the time of his death, has been only recently found among his papers, and has been prepared for publication by his daughter, Miss Mary E. I. Frere, whose memoir of her father (Vol. III., pp. 153 and 293) will be continued at an early date.—P. E. D.]

CORNELIUS VAN QUAARLBERG was sent out to succeed Van Riebeck as Governor, but he remained less than two years. The Chamber of Seventeen in Holland ordered him to Batavia 'in consequence of his want of judgment in having quitted his post in the fort to welcome a French admiral who called in Table Bay,' and to whom he gave a supply of provisions; orders were issued by the Chamber that 'water should be given to all Europeans, but as little refreshment as possible.'

Commander Pieter Hackuis in 1670 was ordered to plant brushwood and trees for fuel. This order was probably the first of the many measures taken by the Dutch to clothe the slopes of Table Mountain with the oaks and pines which have since formed such a beautiful feature in the views around Cape Town.

The order also indicates that the Dutch at that time went

little beyond the Salt River, less than two miles from their fort, for their supplies of fuel; as the natural forests, which still exist on the slopes of the Devil's Peak and Table Mountain towards Wynberg, must have been sufficient at the time to supply all the fleets of Europe.

In the same year the Dutch fleet for Batavia, with 4,000 men on board, called at the Cape, and the admiral sent on shore 807 oxen and 6,182 sheep. This probably marks the resolve of the Dutch administration to enlarge the original design of the settlement—to confine themselves no longer to a small depôt where their fleets could find wood and water and a supply of antiscorbutic vegetables, but to colonise in the true sense of the word. This must have involved a considerable relaxation of the old rules for confining the free burghers to the neighbourhood of the fort in Table Bay, and accordingly we soon find them spreading in all directions.

In 1669 Algoa Bay, four hundred miles east of Cape Town, was first visited by the Dutch, and in the same year orders were received to take formal possession of Saldanha Bay, eighty miles to the north of Table Bay, 'in consequence of the French having erected a column there on which their arms were inscribed,' and we hear of several expeditions being sent about this time to explore on both the east and west coasts.

Governor Ysbrand Gocke in 1672 was charged to build a 'Royal Fortress,' a substantial fort, at Cape Town, a work which occupied several years, on a site sixty roods eastward of the old fort. It cost much money, and was finally found to be commanded by the adjacent spurs of Table Mountain. It however served as a dignified and secure residence for the Governor and principal officials, as a place of arms and arsenal, and as a State prison, in which capacity its last occupant was the ex-Zulu ruler Cetywayo.

In 1676, under the rule of Governor Johan Bax Van Herentals, is recorded the first of those severe periodical droughts which in South Africa, as in Australia and North-Western America, are the severest trial of the colonial farmer.

The directors of the Dutch East India Company urged the farmers by proclamation to extended agriculture, saying that 'the country is not worthy to be called a colony which cannot produce its own corn.' But, as the whole recorded population at that time comprised only 476 souls (free males 83, women 55, children 117, servants 30, slaves of both sexes 191=476), it must have been difficult for them under the best circumstances to supply all their own wants as well as those of the shipping, and much rice was imported. Slaves were purchased from ships arriving from Madagascar and the Dutch East Indies.

The legislation consisted of 'Placaats' or proclamations issued by the Governor with the concurrence of his council, which in 1671 were condensed into a compilation of 'Positive Orders.' They were principally directed to encourage agriculture, to enforce economy and forbearance towards the native Hottentot tribes, who are described as generally restless and discontented.

In 1675 one of the Hottentot chiefs named Gonnema attacked a tribe in alliance with the Dutch, and hostilities continued for two years, when the hostile natives paid a cattle fine. By degrees their territory was annexed and they were compelled to retreat inland. But the decay of the Hottentot race is to be attributed more to intemperance than to ill-treatment.

At this period justice was administered by a Court of which the Commander was president. The Senior Merchant and second in command, who was also treasurer, accountant, and storehouse-keeper, was an assessor, as were the lieutenant, the fiscal or public prosecutor, the ensign, and the junior merchant. The records were carefully kept, and show that the punishments for theft and insubordination were, after the manner of the age, severe.

In October 1679 arrived Governor Simon Van der Stell, who is famous in colonial annals as having laid out and planted the beautiful Government gardens at Cape Town, and still more as the founder of Stellenbosch, now the chief centre of education in the old colony. Father Tachard, the histo-

rian of the French Embassy to Siam in 1681, records the surprise of his mission at the politeness with which they were received at the Cape. Similar hospitality to six French ships in 1688 drew down on the Governor the censure of the authorities in Holland for his want of caution in admitting French officers to a knowledge of the defenceless state of the settlement.

War having been soon after declared by France against Holland, instructions were sent out to seize the enemy's ships, and two homeward-bound French men-of-war, unaware of the declaration of war, were surprised and taken in Table Bay.

In 1684 we first hear of the Kaffirs as having been met with by some farmers on an exploring expedition.

In the same year systematic immigration commenced on a scheme submitted by Commissioner Van Reede, Count of Drakenstein; fifty farmers and mechanics, and a like number of young women, were sent out and settled in the newly-founded districts of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; and between 1685 and 1690 three hundred Huguenots, driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were settled in farms on the slopes of the Drakenstein and in the beautiful valley of French Hoek, where many of their descendants may still be found cultivating the farms, vineyards, and orange orchards which their ancestors formed on the lands where they settled 200 years ago.

To the Huguenot element may be traced in South Africa, as in England, much of the intellectual activity which has characterised the last century; and it may still be recognised in many leading families, and in colonists distinguished, in all ranks of life, for qualities as indicative of French origin as their names—Hugo, Joubert, De Villiers, Du Toit, Du Plessis—and the like.

But a check was soon placed upon any extension of Huguenot immigration by a fear lest danger should arise to the interests of the Dutch East India Company from the independent spirit and national instincts of many French refugee colonists.

Strict measures were taken to enforce the amalgamation of the French Huguenots with the Dutch population.

The use of French in the pulpit or in schools was prohibited, and only a few French words, not more, in proportion, than in the old Scottish dialect of the seventeenth century, and a few forms of expression, such as the double negative, remain to testify to the influence on language of this French immigration. Some of the old French families, when asked about their family history, will even now account for their scanty information by referring to the prohibition of the French language, and say that their ancestors destroyed their French books and family papers, in order to satisfy their Dutch neighbours that they had given up all hopes of separate national existence and had thrown in their lot unreservedly with their Dutch fellow-colonists.

The amalgamation has been very complete, and, except in temperament and complexion, it is difficult to distinguish the descendants of the French from those of the original Dutch colonists.

In 1685 Governor Van der Stell visited the Koperbergen or Copper Mountains in Namaqualand, where now are found the valuable mines of the Cape Copper Company; but their distance from the coast prevented any attempt at working them. He made treaties with some Namaqua chiefs, binding them to keep the peace towards the colony and towards each other, and giving the Government at Cape Town a right to interfere in case of intertribal hostilities.

After this time it is stated that all pretence of respecting native rights to territory was abandoned. Waveren, afterwards called Tulbagh, was added to the colony, and the Government—or more frequently the colonists without any actual sanction from the Government continued to take possession of the country to the north and east till the wilderness and the Kaffirs formed the real boundaries of the settlement.

Governor Simon Van der Stell resigned in 1699 and retired to a farm near Stellenbosch, where he died thirteen

years afterwards; he was succeeded by his son, Willem Adriaan Van der Stell, whose term of office was marked by serious troubles and discontent among the colonists, headed by three of the French immigrants. The 'free burghers,' who numbered at that time only 450, were forbidden by the Company's monopoly from trading, and it was alleged that, in disobedience to orders from Holland, the Commander and his relatives competed with them as farmers; charges of oppression and injustice were also brought against the Governor, and petitions against him were prepared to be forwarded to Holland and Batavia; arrests, imprisonments, and banishment of the supposed conspirators followed, and in the end Van der Stell and his principal officers were recalled in 1707.

In 1702 is recorded the first collision, near the Buffalo River, between some Dutch farmers out hunting with their Hottentot servants and some Kaffirs—the advanced parties of the great Kaffir swarm then on the move southwards.

At that time the colony comprised the present divisions of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, and part of Caledon and Tulbagh.

The returns of stock enumerate 130,000 sheep, 20,000 head of cattle, a population of 2,000 in the families of Europeans and free burghers, and rather more than that number of slaves. The arable products of the colony were wheat, rye, barley and vines; on all of which the Government levied tithes, and fixed the prices of all produce sold—and special authority was required for permission to sell to foreign ships surplus stores which the Dutch East India Company did not require.

During the government of Mauritz Pasquess, Marquis de Chavonnes, a French Huguenot (1714 to 1724), we read of orders issued that the 'Statutes of India' should form a code of laws for the colony, and that a rudimentary system of instruction was authorised.

Piet Gysbert Van Noot, or Noodt's, brief term of office

(1727–8) is celebrated in colonial history for his alleged tyranny and oppression. He is charged with embezzling the pay of his soldiers, withholding trade licences and customary renewals of leases, and with unjust and cruel punishments. A conspiracy of forty soldiers to desert and reach the Portuguese settlements on the coast by marching overland was discovered, and seven of the ringleaders were sentenced to run the gauntlet ten times, and then to be sent to Batavia as common sailors. Van Noot considered this punishment inadequate, and signed a warrant for their execution. The legend runs that this sentence was being carried out with due form, in the presence of the 'Senate of Justice,' when one of the condemned men interrupted the hangman by exclaiming, 'Governor Van Noot, I summon you this very hour before the judgment-seat of the Omniscient God, there to give account of the souls of myself and my companions.' When the Senate returned to the Judgment Hall to report execution of the sentence, they found the Governor sitting motionless in his chair, dead. Van Noot's chair, in which he is said to have died, is still shown in the Cape Town Museum.

In 1738 Hendrik Swellengrebel assumed office and founded the town and created the district of Swellendam.

The chief events recorded, in the first half of the eighteenth century, are wars of extermination waged against Bushmen and other native tribes, a visit from La Caille, the French astronomer, in 1751, when engaged in measuring an arc of the meridian, and Commodore Anson's arrival in Table Bay in 1744. Beyond what has been already noticed there was little immigration, only 350 arrivals being recorded in addition to retired and discharged soldiers, sailors, and other servants of the Company. These were admitted to burghership only on signing an engagement to secure a monopoly of trade to the Company.

Rijk van Tulbagh, an able and successful soldier who had risen from the ranks, was appointed Governor in 1751, and his twenty years' tenure of the office is regarded as the golden era of the Dutch Company's rule. He was a popular ruler, though

a strict disciplinarian, of simple habits, and one of his first acts was to adopt the sumptuary laws enacted in the Dutch East Indies by Governor-General Jacob Mossel. These 'Praal and Praacht' regulations restricted the carrying of umbrellas; no woman under the rank of a junior merchant's wife was allowed to wear silk dresses; and marriages and funerals were minutely regulated. Tulbagh prosecuted discovery and sent an expedition to the northward in 1761, which explored and reported on the Copper Mountains in Namaqualand. He extended the boundaries of the colony, and died greatly lamented in 1771.

In his time the population of the colony comprised 9,000 persons of European extraction and 8,000 slaves. The upper Koopmannen, or senior merchants, included the Governor and Vice-Governor (Mijnheer de Secunde), the Fiscal, and the commandant of the Castle. These four formed the High Court of Policy, the Legislative and Executive Councils, and Court of Justice, assisted by the Secretary of the Council, the Surveyor-General, the Storekeeper, and the Winkelier, or agent for selling the Company's goods. The administration of justice gave rise to many complaints, and among the practices which were said to need reform was the power claimed by the Fiscal of compounding for crimes by a pecuniary penalty, one-third of which went into his own pocket. There were thirty junior merchants, including the Secretary of the Court of Justice, lieutenants in the army, members of the Municipal Council, the clergymen and the landrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam.

The colonial revenue ranged from 14,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* per annum, and the expenditure, including the charges of the outward and homeward bound Dutch fleets, reached 50,000*l.* per annum.

All trade was in the hands of the Company, and their sales of European manufactures were about 8,000*l.* when the whole year's value of imports was 16,000*l.* The crops of the colony were estimated at about 100,000*l.* worth per annum. Taxes, consisting principally of tithes, were paid mostly in produce.

Each ship arriving in Table Bay paid 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* anchorage dues, and the average of yearly arrivals was twelve.

There was neither printing-press, post-office, nor education worthy the name. No earnest attempt was made to civilise the heathen, and there were but three clergymen in the colony, all of the Dutch Reformed Church, for no other was tolerated. The ill effects of slavery on public and private morals was said to be perceptible, and precautions had to be taken against outbreaks of fugitive slaves, who frequently went in troops for purposes of plunder.

In 1750 the Zwartkops River was declared the eastern boundary of the colony, and in the same year the British East Indiaman 'Doddington' was wrecked on the Bird Islands, near Algoa Bay. Only 23 out of 220 people on board were saved. After living seven months on the islets they launched a sloop and reached Delagoa Bay, where they found an English ship which brought them to India.

On June 1, 1773, the ship 'Jonge Thomas' was wrecked in Table Bay, and the occasion was rendered memorable by the heroism of an old gentleman named Woltemade, who rode his horse seven times into the breakers, and each time rescued two men, but perished in making an eighth effort to save the rest.

About this time the traveller Sparrman, and Thunberg the Swedish botanist, visited the colony. Thunberg, who stayed in South Africa nearly three years (1771–3), describes the Governor, Baron Joachim van Plettenberg, as an unfeeling *bon vivant.* Great discontent prevailed, and there was not even the pretence of liberty. The contract of conditional freedom made with the original burghers was considered binding on their descendants, and any burgher could be forced back into the service, or sent out of the colony to such place as the Company chose.

In 1779 a list of charges against officials and a prayer for redress of grievances were sent to Holland in charge of four delegates. Among the changes prayed for were the establishment of a printing-press, and the promulgation in the colony

of the Indian Statutes and general laws of Holland, but no result followed, save the displacement of a few officials.

In 1778 is recorded the first treaty with the Kaffirs, fixing the Fish River as the boundary line between them and the colony.

In 1780 a small English squadron, commanded by Commodore Johnstone, was sent to take the Cape, but it was met at St. Jago by a French fleet under Admiral Suffren and seriously damaged.

Suffren proceeded to Cape Town to put it in a state of defence, and Johnstone sailed into Saldanha Bay, where he captured and destroyed several Dutch vessels, including one, the 'Middelburgh,' in which Le Vaillant, the traveller, had arrived as a passenger.

In 1782 the British Indiaman 'Grosvenor' was wrecked on the coast of Kaffraria, near the St. John's River. The greater part of the crew and all the passengers reached the shore, and some endeavoured to travel overland to the colony; a few survived to reach the Dutch frontier; but many were detained as prisoners by the Kaffirs, among whom families are still pointed out as descended from those who escaped from this or other shipwrecks.

An expedition was sent by the Colonial Government in 1790 to search for the survivors, but none were then found.

Cornelis Jacobus van de Graaff, who succeeded as Governor, in 1785, is described as a man of energy and ability. He formed the district of Graaff-Reinet, named after himself and his wife. He was moved to this measure by hearing that the British Indiaman 'Pigot' had landed a number of sick men at Algoa Bay, and the Graaff-Reinet district was formed to prevent any foreign power settling on the shores of Algoa Bay. Van de Graaff ordered the landrost of the new district to recall burghers who had gone into Kaffirland and to endeavour to be on friendly terms with the natives. This is the first attempt we read of, to counteract the tendency of the European colonists to push beyond the colonial boundary and to trespass on native territory, but it seems to have been

no more effectual than the many subsequent repetitions of the same well-intentioned but always ineffectual policy.

In 1790 orders came from Holland to discontinue the construction of fortifications, to send 2,400 soldiers to Batavia, and to supersede Van de Graaff. Increasing discontent led to the appointment of a commission of inquiry, but, after a few small reforms had been ordered, the commissioners from Holland went on to Batavia, in 1794. In 1795 increasing discontent led to an outbreak of rebellion at Graaff-Reinet, the landrost was expelled, and some officials of high rank sent from the Cape were unable to restore the authority of Government there. The grievances most complained of were the Government monopolies, and what was called the 'cheat of paper-money,' notes for which as low as two stivers (4½*d.*) were in circulation. The rebellion spread to Swellendam, where also the Landrost was expelled—the ringleader, an Italian military deserter named Pisania, with two of his companions, was captured. But the Governor, Sluysken, proposed to 'leave those people of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet to themselves, and to content himself by means of gentle remonstrances and letters,' and by his incompetence destroyed all feeling of confidence in his government.

At this crisis, on June 11, 1795, a British fleet of nine ships under Admiral Elphinstone entered False Bay and demanded the surrender of the colony under a mandate from the Hereditary Prince Stadtholder of Holland, then a refugee in England, recently escaped from the French revolutionary emissaries. Governor Sluysken made a feeble and ineffectual attempt at resistance.

The British troops landed after the fleet had silenced the Muizenberg and Kalk Bay Forts; on September 4, 1795, a reinforcement of 3,000 British troops under General Clarke arrived in Simon's Bay, and General Sluysken capitulated on terms securing all the privileges the colonists possessed. The oath of allegiance to the British Crown was required of all who continued to hold office, and General Craig was appointed Governor.

This terminated the rule of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape after it had lasted 143 years. It was a narrow monopoly preventing any development of commerce or industrial progress, as well as of missionary effort. The provision for education was so defective that it is said not a good school existed in the country. The Dutch Reformed Church still remained the only form of religion recognised by law. Even the German Lutheran Church was scarcely tolerated, and the building of the old Lutheran Church was more than once stopped by the Dutch Governor's order. The Malays were not allowed to erect a mosque and met for worship in a stone quarry in the suburbs. In 1743 Governor Baron Imhoff had recommended that clergymen should be stationed throughout the colony, and the churches at Roodezand (Tulbagh) and Zwartland (Malmesbury) were built. No general serious effort had been made to civilise the Hottentots, though in 1788 several persons were engaged to give religious instruction to the heathen, and in 1799 the 'South African Missionary Society' was established.

The whole administration was in fact as backward as our own possessions in India would have been, had Clive and Warren Hastings never appeared among the servants of our East India Company.

IV. British Occupation from 1795 to 1803.

General Craig administered the government from the date of the capitulation till the appointment as Governor of the Earl of Macartney, who landed at Cape Town on May 4, 1797, accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Barrow, whose 'Travels' contain a very full, accurate, and conscientious description of South Africa at that period. They found the colony in a state of great disorder. The landrost and clergyman who had been sent by the Dutch Government to Graaff-Reinet to restore order had been expelled, and the district was in rebellion. The landrost was again sent in company with

Barrow, who was commissioned to report on the state of the inland districts of the colony. Having restored the landrost's authority at Graaff-Reinet, Barrow crossed into Kaffirland, and made an agreement with Gaika, the Kaffir chief. A principal stipulation was that the Great Fish River should be respected as the colonial boundary alike by the colonists and Kaffirs; but it is added that Gaika, who was then at the height of his power, afterwards paid little attention to his engagements. Barrow then proceeded from Graaff-Reinet over the Snowy Mountains to the Orange River, and through the country of the Bushmen, to see if it were possible to persuade them to quit their wild and marauding life.

Lord Macartney was a governor of great firmness, prudence, and ability; and having restored order and provided some excellent regulations for the future government of the settlement, he, on November 28, 1798, made over the government to the senior military officer, General Dundas.

The British rule brought a great increase of prosperity to the colony. The revenue nearly doubled, without any additional taxation, though the spirit of rebellion did not disappear till a military force under General Vandeleur was sent to Graaff-Reinet. Barrow was then acting as commissioner in the Eastern Districts, and near Algoa Bay met a large number of Boers with their families, wagons, and cattle, who had been plundered by the Hottentots and sought British protection, whilst the Hottentots to the number of about 500 men demanded redress. A small party of armed seamen, with a swivel gun from the 'Rattlesnake,' a man-of-war then in Algoa Bay, were landed, and the Hottentots dispersed.

Whilst the 'Rattlesnake,' which mounted only sixteen guns, was at anchor in Algoa Bay, she was attacked by the French frigate 'La Princesse,' of forty-eight guns, which anchored in the bay flying English colours. Four artillery guns brought down from Fort Frederic gave some assistance to the 'Rattlesnake,' and a sharp action was maintained for six hours till nightfall, when the French frigate weighed and left the anchorage.

Hottentots and Kaffirs had united to ravage the Graaff-Reinet division. They had defeated the Boers and pursued them as far west as the Gamtoos River, where they were met by a force commanded by a brave Dutch farmer, Tjaard van der Walt. He was killed while fighting, and his defeated followers were pursued till the enemy were met and defeated by a force of English and Swellendam Boers near Mossel Bay.

Changes of ministry at home from Pitt to Addington led to changes in the Government of the Cape. Sir George Young came out in 1799, and after a short time was succeeded by General Francis Dundas. On March 27, 1802, the Treaty of Amiens was signed. One of its provisions was 'that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall remain to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty.' Accordingly, in March 1803 a large Dutch force arrived, to which the English authorities made over charge of the colony.

At that period the total population was estimated at 70,000 souls, of which number 25,000 were slaves and 15,000 Hottentots. The revenue of the year 1800 from auction dues, customs, transfer dues, land rents, Octroi duties on wine and grain, retail licences, and interest on loans made by the Government Loan Bank, was about 74,000*l*. Civil establishments, salaries, and repairs to public buildings were the principal civil charges, which in 1799 left a balance of 200,000 rix dollars in the civil treasury. The military charges were defrayed from the military chest, and are not shown in the colonial accounts.

The ancient tenure on which land was granted was 'Loan.' 'Gratuity lands' were those which on petition were converted into a species of copyhold, subject to an annual rent. A few real estates were held in fee simple, and the rest were 'quit rent farms.'

The Court of Justice consisted, according to its original Dutch constitution, of several members; two-thirds were civil servants, the rest selected from town burghers. Depositions on oath were taken privately before two commissioners and

afterwards read in court, where proceedings were conducted with closed doors, no oral pleading nor confronting of accused with the witnesses being permitted. No circumstantial evidence, however strong, could warrant execution of death until a free confession had been made. In Cape Town a 'Court of Commissaries' tried petty cases, and in the country districts the landrost and heemraden administered justice. The municipal affairs of Cape Town were managed by a 'Burgher Senate' of six members.

Barrow describes the free inhabitants as too proud or too lazy to work, and two-thirds of them owed their sustenance to the labour of slaves. The most active and docile, though the most dangerous slaves, were the 'Malays' from Batavia. The 'Wine Boers' were the most prosperous farmers. The 'Corn Boers,' who generally occupied 'loan farms,' were often rich. Cattle graziers in the more remote districts were the least advanced in civilisation.

V. Dutch restored Rule, 1803 to 1807.

March 1, 1803, was observed in Cape Town as a solemn day of thanksgiving for peace and for the restoration of the Cape Colony to the Dutch; but the colony was not restored to the Netherlands East India Company, whose exclusive monopolies, restrictions on trade, and generally selfish commercial policy had so retarded the growth of the settlement. An amnesty was granted and a constitutional charter promised by Commissary-General de Mist, who formed two new divisions—Uitenhage, named after a barony of his own in Holland, and Tulbagh; while he promulgated a body of excellent instructions for the guidance of officials.

To meet the danger of a war with the natives and a renewal of hostilities with England, a militia was formed, and the Burgher Senate called on all able-bodied men to enrol themselves for local service. The Governor-General Jansens made an official tour through the inland districts of

the colony and entered into a treaty with the Kaffir chief Gaika.

On Christmas Day 1805, an American vessel brought news that an English fleet of fifty-nine sail had left Madeira for the East Indies, carrying a large force under General Sir David Baird. Such preparations as time and resources permitted were made by General Jansens for defence; but on January 3, 1806, the look-out ships of the English fleet appeared, and on the 4th the whole fleet had anchored in Table Bay, between Table Bay and Blaauwberg. By the 8th, in spite of very serious difficulties from the surf and the loss of forty-three men drowned in landing, the whole force was disembarked on the Blaauwberg Strand. Jansens' forces were neither in number nor composition equal to the task of defending Cape Town. After a brief action on Blaauwberg heights, Baird marched on the town, which capitulated, and on January 18, 1806, a formal convention was signed, by which the Dutch troops were to march to Simon's Bay with all the honours of war, and thence to be conveyed by the English to Europe. The Government treasure and public property were given up. Burghers and all other inhabitants were confirmed in their rights and privileges, and the oath of allegiance to the King of England was taken by the principal inhabitants. A regiment was despatched to Mossel Bay, and preparations made to resist any attack from the French. Sir David Baird acted with his usual decision and judgment in arranging as far as possible for the future administration of the colony, which he quitted on January 24, 1807, making over command to General Grey as Lieutenant-Governor; and since then the colony has remained as a part of the British Empire, though it was not till 1815 that it was formally ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris.

VI. British Rule previous to the Grant of Representative Institutions.

Dupre, Earl of Caledon, was proclaimed Governor in 1807. The depredations committed by armed bands of fugitive slaves, under the guidance of two white leaders, had become so serious that a military expedition was required to put them down; many were taken prisoners, seven were tried and executed, and the rest driven beyond the colonial frontier.

This year, 1807, was memorable for the landing of the last cargo of slaves in Cape Town.

Reforms were made in the administration of justice, and Circuit Courts, presided over by two members of the Supreme Court of Justice, were established.

From about this time the mutual recriminations of frontier colonists against the natives and of natives against colonists have seriously and very constantly occupied the attention of the local government. Lord Caledon's regulations against the Hottentots are described as severe, and on the other side Dr. Vander Kemp and the Rev. J. Read made serious charges of cruelty and injustice against the frontier farmers. A commission was appointed, but it seems only to have illustrated—as have innumerable commissions since—the difficulty of dealing with such cases where there are faults on both sides. Many of the frontier farmers, practically beyond the reach of colonial law, were not scrupulous in appropriating the pasture lands of the frontier tribes, and the frontier natives were equally unscrupulous in appropriating the cattle of the frontier farmer whether they found them within or beyond the frontier. The only remedy, which experience elsewhere has shown to be effectual, namely, that the Colonial Government should assert its supremacy and enforce justice on both sides of the border, was never effectually tried. Our practice has been from that day to this a perpetual seesaw between spasmodical severity to the natives and equally spasmodical attempts to leave the natives to protect themselves. The result has been

perpetual ill-feeling and injustice to all parties—a constant recurrence of sanguinary wars—a steady repression of the weaker race by the stronger ; and the native problem, extremely simple and easy of solution in itself, is, after seventy years of laborious study by British statesmen of all parties, apparently as far from a final settlement as ever.

Sir John Cradock was appointed Governor in 1811, and took strong measures to protect the colonists against native aggression. He established Graham's Town as a military post, and fixed the Great Fish River as the eastern boundary of the colony.

From this time forward the Kaffirs have occupied the prominent position in all discussions regarding native affairs.

We can here only briefly glance at the history and characteristics of this important and powerful race. Obviously different from and superior to the equatorial negro races, the Kaffirs were hardly known by name till the seventeenth century, when they were heard of as a warlike race swarming southwards and westwards and driving the Hottentot races before them ; they had then recently crossed the Kei River. Whence they had come originally was not and is not now known, but the most northerly and easterly tribes claim to have come from regions still further north and east of their present abodes.

War and in the intervals of war the tending of cattle were their main occupations. Against the bows and arrows of the Hottentots and Bushmen they used the assegai or spear, sometimes a light throwing javelin, at others a stout stabbing pike, and protected themselves with large arrowproof oxhide shields. Their organisation, political, social and military, was what might be expected from an intelligent race of uncivilised savages who knew no law but that of force. The father ruled despotically in the family, and when more than one family joined together the strongest and ablest male became chief of the tribe, whether small or great. Malcontents had a choice of submitting, moving off to other quarters, or being slain, and 'eaten up'—i.e. their children, wives, and cattle were

taken by the chief or distributed among his followers. The same process was followed when a strong tribe met a weak one, unless the weaker tribe averted the process of eating up by voluntary submission and absorption into the stronger clan.

But as fast as families thus crystallised into tribes and tribes into larger clans, they were disintegrated, partly by the action of ever-recurring war, more certainly by the result of the universal polygamous marriages, which provided in every ruling family a crop of rivals for supremacy.

So the savage conquering mass rolled onwards, as increasing numbers and pressure from behind forced them southwards, till they met the advanced parties of the white immigration, swarming under slower but equally irresistible impulses from the south. In 1684 some colonial farmers who had penetrated into the interior came into contact with the Kaffirs, and a despatch sent to Holland in 1702 mentions warfare between colonial freebooters and natives near the Buffalo River. 1760 is given as about the time when the Kaffirs began to spead westward of the Kei River. In 1786 a verbal agreement was made with the Kaffirs, defining the Great Fish River as the colonial boundary, and in the same year the Kaffir chief T'Slambie aided the colonists against an intruding mixed tribe called Gonnas. In 1792 the colonial farmers established a system of commandoes for mutual defence, but in 1802 the colonial leader, Tjaart van der Walt, was defeated and slain. Botha, who succeeded him, was not more fortunate in subduing the enemy, and just before the restoration of the colony to the Dutch, General Dundas made a treaty which allowed the Kaffirs to retain the cattle they had captured.

Under the restored Dutch Government the treaty entered into by General Jansens with Gaika seemed only made to be broken, and when the British returned they at first tried a policy of conciliation, which was attributed to weakness or fear. The Kaffir depredations continued to increase till 1807, when a law was passed providing that any Kaffir detected in

the act of stealing might be shot. In 1809 Colonel Collins, Commissioner for Frontier Affairs, recommended that the Kaffirs should be expelled from the colony, and the country filled up with European immigrants settled on small farms.

In 1811 a large force of military and burghers under Colonel Graham was sent by Governor Sir John Cradock to carry out this movement. Landrost Stockenström, who commanded a division of the force, was treacherously slain by the Kaffirs at a peaceful conference, the crops of the natives were destroyed, their huts burned, and 20,000 driven across the Great Fish River. Severe penalties were inflicted on any Kaffir found in the colony, a frontier line of posts was established, a Hottentot Corps raised, and Graham's Town, named after Colonel Graham, was established as the headquarters of the troops.

In 1814 Lord Charles Somerset arrived as Governor, and found the Dutch farmers disaffected and tired of the onerous calls on them to serve as burghers, whilst no efficient check was given to the depredations of the frontier Kaffirs. The burgher levy was disbanded in 1815, and the frontier farmers who suffered most from Kaffir stockstealing took the law into their own hands. A farmer named Frederick Bezuidenhont was shot by the military when resisting execution of a warrant issued against him on a charge of illtreating a Hottentot, and his brother, over his open grave, called on the Boers present to avenge his death by expelling the British, on the ground that a burgher could only be legally arrested by his field cornet; but the outbreak was speedily crushed by a troop of the 21st Dragoons under Colonel Cuyler, supported by a body of burghers under Commandant Nel. Some of the insurgents were captured, others fled to the fastnesses of the Baviaans River, and on March 6, 1816, five were executed at a pass, called, from the execution, Slachters Nek. The execution roused a strong feeling among the Dutch against the Government, and is to this day regarded by many Dutch farmers as a judicial murder, and the men executed are spoken of as martyred patriots.

The Kaffirs, driven from the Zuurveldt in 1811 by General Cradock, gradually returned, reoccupied their former fastnesses, and under T'Slambie, as chief of a confederation, against Gaika, organised a system of cattle-stealing. Gaika, who had assumed and was recognised by the Government as paramount chief, and had forbidden cattle-stealing in the colony, was himself attacked and defeated at the Koonap before any assistance from the Government could reach him. A large 'commando' of 3,352 military and burghers was then called into the field and, supported by Gaika with 6,000 warriors, entered Kaffraria on December 3, 1818. T'Slambie's adherents were attacked, shelled out of the dense bush in which they took refuge; Gaika was reinstated as paramount chief, and 11,000 cattle were handed over to him as compensation.

Meantime a large body of 8,000 or 10,000 Kaffir warriors under the confederate chiefs T'Slambie and Congo, led by a witch doctor named Mahauna, or Lynx, had crossed the Great Fish River, entered the colony, driven in the small military posts, ravaged the frontier districts, and attacked the headquarters of the military at Graham's Town. The small garrison advanced to meet them with two field-pieces, but was forced to retire under shelter of the houses, where a determined stand was made and the enemy repulsed.

Many of Gaika's men were engaged in this attack on Graham's Town, and his chief interpreter, Nootka, was shot whilst attempting to stab the British commanding officer. The defeated Kaffirs were followed up, and, as a security against future inroads, a large force under Colonel Wilshire was sent to clear the enemy out of the dense Fish River bush, and to expel them permanently from the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma. This tract was declared neutral ground. Lord Charles Somerset proceeded to the frontier in 1819 and formulated the terms of the settlement into a treaty with the Kaffirs, which was subsequently confirmed by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Rufane Donkin, with the addition that military posts should be stationed in the neutral zone.

At this period the area of the colony was calculated at 128,000 square miles, the total population at 110,000 souls, of whom 48,000 were white, 29,000 Hottentots, and 33,000 slaves or apprentices. Commerce was restricted to Table Bay; only a few articles, such as butter, salt, soap, whale oil, and skins, being exported from Algoa Bay. The colonial imports in 1821 were valued at 454,166*l.*, and the exports at 150,900*l.*, of which 82,170*l.* were wines. The public revenue in 1821 was 109,000*l.*, and the expenditure (civil) 93,000*l.* The currency was depreciated paper, and the rate of exchange seriously against the colony. There were but three churches out of Cape Town. Education and the civilisation of the natives were neglected. The 'Government Gazette' and an advertising sheet were the only newspapers published, and the Government possessed no element of a representative character.

An attempt to promote immigration, well devised according to the lights of the time, was made in 1820; and the arrival of 4,000 British emigrants in the Eastern districts formed a new and most important era in the history of South Africa. Parliament had voted 50,000*l.* in aid of the voluntary emigrants; 90,000 applications were received, and much care was taken in the selection of the most eligible applicants. Money deposits were required from all, and twenty-three vessels were chartered to convey them. The two first ships, the 'Chapman' and 'Nautilus,' left Gravesend on December 3, 1819, and anchored in Algoa Bay, April 9, 1820—a day which has ever since been observed as the foundation day of the Eastern colony. The immigrants were settled on 3,000 square miles of the Zuurveldt, between the Sundays and Great Fish Rivers, and southward from Graham's Town to the sea. The Government aided in providing implements, transport, and rations to start the settlement. The garden culture—pumpkins, potatoes, &c.—the rye, barley, oats, Indian corn, did well; but the wheat was repeatedly attacked by rust and failed. Cattle and sheep were purchased from the Dutch colonists, but the new settlers had at first to seek local

substitutes for groceries, roasted barley for coffee, used honey for sugar and Bushman's tea for the Chinese leaf. As their clothing wore out, sheepskin was used for jackets and trousers —and even for women's skirts—with coarse cottons from India. Extraordinary floods in 1823 added to their difficulties; but every year improved their position.

Lord Charles Somerset transferred the seat of government from Bathurst to Graham's Town, which was then a military outpost of a dozen or so of small houses; but other measures which were supposed to have encouraged Kaffir cattle-stealing led to complaints being sent home against the action of the Governor. On January 7, 1824, Mr. John Fairbairn and Mr. Thomas Pringle, the poet and friend of Sir Walter Scott, published in Cape Town the first number of the 'South African Commercial Advertiser'; but in less than six months its publication was suspended by order of the Government. An appeal was made to the Home Government, commissioners of inquiry were sent out, and some reforms in administration were suggested by their report in 1826, and subsequently carried out. An executive council of seven members was appointed to assist the Governor: a free press and a separate civil government for the Eastern Provinces were approved; a supreme court under a royal charter of justice was created; the old offices of landrost and heemraden and the Burgher Senate were abolished, and a system of civil commissioners, resident magistrates, and justices of the peace was substituted. Monopolies, such as the 'Pacht,' an exclusive right of selling wines and spirits, and the office of 'Vendu Master,' or Government Auctioneer, were abolished.

General Sir Rufane Donkin, whilst acting for Lord Charles Somerset as Lieutenant-Governor, founded at Algoa Bay the town of Port Elizabeth, so named after his wife. It now rivals Cape Town in the extent and variety of its trade.

Captain Stockenström, Chief Magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, was appointed Commissioner-General on the eastern frontier in 1828—a year memorable in colonial annals for the first native troubles consequent on the advance of a new horde of

Kaffirs, who had been driven from their homes near Delagoa Bay by the exterminating wars of the Zulu ruler Chaka. These new-comers, known as the Mantatees, or Fetlani, had in 1827, under a leader named Matuana, attacked first the Tembus and then the Galekas, whose chief, Hintza, applied to the colony for succour. Major Dundas, Civil Commissioner of Albany, at the head of a body of British settlers, met and defeated the invaders at the Baoha River on July 26, 1828; and soon after Colonel Somerset again defeated them near the sources of the Umtata.

About this time began the agitation for representative institutions, which continued to agitate the colony till 1853.

The administration of General Sir Lowry Cole, who succeeded as Governor in 1828, is remembered by a commencement of road-making into the interior from Cape Town.

One of the first great passes opened over the Hottentot Holland Mountains still bears Sir Lowry's name.

The paper currency, which had so fallen in value that the rix dollar, of the nominal value of four shillings, was only worth eighteenpence, was recalled and a silver currency substituted.

In 1828 Dr. Cowie, the District Surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green penetrated overland to Delagoa Bay, but died on their return journey. Succeeding explorers opened up a trade with the Bechuanas to the north, and the Zulus on the east coast.

In 1829 the Tembus on the Zwarte Kei River were attacked by a confederacy of Kaffir chiefs under Macomo, the son of Gaika, and driven into British territory.

An official inquiry ended in the expulsion of Macomo from the Kat River valley.

In 1831 we first hear of joint-stock companies, one of the first of which was the South African Fire and Life Assurance Company, and of the Savings Bank.

In 1833 an exploring expedition under Dr. Andrew Smith was sent into the interior, and reached the camp of the Zulu chief Moselicatse, in lat. 25°, long. 27°, near Zeerustand, the Marico River. The chief was then on his progress

of devastation and conquest from Zululand to his final settlement in Matabele Land, north and east of the Transvaal.

General Sir Benjamin Durban, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the Peninsula War, arrived as Governor, January 16, 1834. Sir Benjamin found that the vagrant and dishonest habits of the natives in the frontier districts caused serious loss to the frontier farmers, and a very stringent ordinance for the suppression of native vagrancy was laid before the Legislative Council. This was ineffectual to prevent a combination between the Hottentots settled on the Kat River and the frontier Kaffirs. Cattle-stealing increased, a trader named Purcell was murdered, and a British officer who had seized cattle for theft was forcibly resisted (1834). With no other warning than this sudden increase of cattle-stealing, a Kaffir invasion broke into the colony. From all directions around the Albany district, on the eastern frontier, tidings of murder and plunder were received. The Bathurst district cattle were swept off on Christmas Day, and the people had to fall back on Graham's Town. 'The Public Committee of Safety,' hastily organised, advised the settlers to seek shelter in the principal towns. A few farms and posts were resolutely held, though the cattle were very generally driven off. Within a line drawn westward from the Winterberg to the Zuurberg, and thence southwards to the sea, the country was pillaged and laid waste. The scattered settlers who did not fly for their lives were murdered in defence of their farms. Occasionally a few families united, and a successful stand was made. Near the Kat River 30 settlers attacked by 150 Kaffirs repulsed their assailants after 75 of the Kaffirs, including four chiefs, had been slain. Early in January 1835, Hermanu's Kraal, a small outpost eighteen miles N.E. of Graham's Town, was successfully defended by a small detachment of the 75th Regiment and twenty farmers. On the evening of the same day, Colonel (afterwards General Sir) Harry Smith arrived from Cape Town, after a ride of six days, and took command of the forces. Martial law was proclaimed in the districts of Albany and

Somerset, and the burgher force was organised as four companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry of the 'Graham's Town Volunteers.'

Colonel Smith determined at once to assume the offensive and carry the war into the enemy's country. A mixed force of regulars and volunteers numbering about 400 men moved into Eno's country, recaptured much stock and burnt the kraal of the important rebel chief Tyali. Colonel Somerset, scouring the country up to the Bushman's River with a mixed force of 100 men, fell in with a large force of the enemy, estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 men, and dislodged them with heavy loss from the thick bush in which they had taken up a strong position.

Sir Benjamin Durban's arrival on the frontier with the 72nd Regiment gave new hope to the colonists. He found 2,000 persons, many of them utterly destitute and infirm, had sought refuge in Graham's Town. Measures were taken to provide for their most pressing wants, but there were 7,000 persons who had been driven from their homes and who were dependent on Government for the necessaries of life. Sir Benjamin Durban wrote on the 22nd of January, 1835: 'The land is filled with the lamentations of the widow and fatherless. The indelible impressions already made on myself by the horrors of an irruption of savages upon a scattered population almost exclusively engaged in the peaceful occupation of husbandry are such as to make me look on those I have witnessed in a service of thirty years, ten of which were in the most eventful period of war, as trifles to what I have now witnessed.'

Systematic operations were at once undertaken to drive back the Kaffirs. They had occupied the fords ('drifts') of the Great Fish River, and the rugged and thickly wooded defiles and ravines ('kloofs') leading down to them, and they swarmed in the 'Fish River bush,' which extended for several miles from the banks of the river, and formed an almost impregnable barrier to the passage of a disciplined military force. Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) England (75th) and

Major Gregory (98th) were detached with 600 men to reconnoitre the fords on the direct line eastwards, towards Kaffraria. Colonel Smith followed, and Colonel Somerset was detached to move through the lower country near the coast, so as to reach the rear of the enemy's position in the Fish River bush. This service was most successfully performed: on January 12, 1835, a large body of the enemy was attacked in a very strong position by Colonel Somerset; the Kaffirs were defeated with heavy loss in men and cattle.

The regular troops were ably supported by the colonial volunteers and by bodies of Dutch burghers who joined them, and the colonists still recount with pride the exploits of men like the brothers Groepe, and Field-Commandant Rademeyer, against heavy odds of Kaffir warriors fighting in almost impenetrable bush. Ultimately Colonel Smith crossed the Keiskamma, and repeatedly defeated the Kaffirs with heavy loss, capturing large numbers of cattle and many prisoners. Sir Benjamin Durban took the command, and a general movement was executed against the enemy's positions in the Amatola Mountains, which were occupied and the enemy driven across the Kei.

Hintza, chief of the Galekas, was regarded as paramount chief beyond the Kei. Negotiations were opened with him, but he treated the Governor's advances with scorn, and war was declared against him.

It was at this period that the Fingoes first took an important part in frontier affairs. They were the remnants of a number of tribes formerly settled in and beyond Natal and Zululand, who had been broken up by the wars of Chaka, the founder of the Zulu Confederacy (1818 to 1828). All who escaped death or capture and amalgamation into Chaka's hordes had fled southwards, and after wandering through the wildernesses of Kaffraria, harried by Pondos, Tembus, and other southern Kaffir tribes, they had submitted to Hintza, who attached them as serfs and helots to his Galeka clans. Their hard treatment at his hands made them glad to join the English and assert their independence. They proved

very valuable allies, and have ever since been loyal British subjects, steadily advancing in civilisation and all the industrial occupations of settled life.

Sir Benjamin Durban's operations against Hintza were most successful. The country between the T'Somo and Kei was effectually secured, large numbers of cattle were captured, and Hintza sent messengers to ask for peace. Hintza was required to come in and sue in person; he did so, and a treaty was concluded. An attempt was subsequently made by the Galekas to massacre our Fingo allies, but was checked by the threat of renewed hostilities. The Fingoes were moved across the Kei, and many of them were settled in the coast districts between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers. This migration numbered 2,000 men, 5,600 women, and 9,200 children, with 22,000 cattle.

Hintza, who had been detained as a prisoner of war at large on parole, volunteered to accompany a division of the troops under Colonel Harry Smith, to use his influence in collecting the cattle and horses stipulated for in the treaty of peace, and to apprehend the murderers of British subjects who had taken refuge with the Galekas. Colonel Smith had told Hintza that if he attempted to escape he would be shot. Hintza guided the troops to a tongue of land near the Xabecca River, and, whilst reconnoitring with Colonel Smith, put spurs to his horse and attempted to get away. Colonel Smith galloped after him, and having ineffectually fired his pistols at him, came up with and dismounted him. Hintza, on foot, hurled an assegai at Colonel Smith, and paying no attention to Mr. Geo. Southey, who called to him to stop, ran down the hill into a thicket on the river bank. Mr. Southey followed, and seeing an assegai strike a rock which he was climbing, turned round and shot Hintza dead, a few yards off, in the act of hurling another assegai at him.

These are briefly the circumstances as ascertained by inquiry at the time, but the Galekas, who knew nothing beyond the fact that Hintza had been shot after surrender, were not easily persuaded that his death was caused by no bad faith

on our part, but by his own attempt to escape, and they made more than one attempt to retaliate. When the circumstances were reported at home, the Secretary of State ordered a court of inquiry, the result of which was to show that Hintza had been concerned in a secret conspiracy, and was chiefly blamable for the unfortunate result. After Hintza's death Colonel Smith pushed on to the Umtata, and though constantly surrounded by large numbers of the enemy, withdrew his small force across the Kei, with the cattle he had captured, and more than a thousand Fingoes who had joined him.

Sir Benjamin Durban released Kreli, Hintza's son, and confirmed him in his father's possessions by a treaty of peace. The troops were gradually withdrawn, outposts being established on the Kei, which was declared the Colonial Frontier, and on May 20, 1835, King William's Town was founded on the banks of the Buffalo River as capital of the province of Queen Adelaide, comprising all the country between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers.

The losses of the colonists in this war, 1834–5, were stated at 3,227 persons reduced to destitution, 239 farmhouses burnt and destroyed, 262 farmhouses pillaged of furniture and property, 30,140 head of cattle, 964 horses, and 55,554 sheep and goats stolen, besides most of the standing crops destroyed.

The Kaffir s are saidfrom the first to have looked on the treaty with contempt; the country was too sparsely populated for the colonists to hold it effectually and so prevent Kaffir depredations, and the arrangements made by Sir Benjamin Durban, though supported by the weight of the most experienced colonial opinion, were not approved by the Government at home.

In a despatch dated December 28, 1835, Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Melbourne's Administration, considered that the Kaffirs had ample justification for making war on the colony, and directed that the claim to sovereignty over the new province of Adelaide should be renounced. Captain (afterwards Sir Andries) Stockenström

was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts to carry out these orders. On December 5, 1836, not only the province of 'Queen Adelaide,' but all the territory ceded to the colony in 1819 between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, was restored to the Kaffirs. The colonial boundary was drawn back to the Great Fish River. The chiefs were absolved from their allegiance, and treaties made with them as independent rulers. The Imperial Parliament passed an Act for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by British subjects in the territories adjacent to the colony, extending very usefully the power of colonial judicial officers to take cognisance of offences committed by British subjects beyond the border.

But the action of the Home authorities caused the most bitter feeling of dissatisfaction in the eastern portion of the colony, which had suffered most from the depredations of the Kaffirs, and added to the discontent caused by the measures taken for the emancipation of the slaves. Many of the frontier farmers, especially those of Dutch extraction, declared that the action of the British Government rendered a longer residence in a British colony impossible.

Piet Retief, a field cornet, and a man of great local influence, gave great umbrage to the Government by forwarding an address from the inhabitants of the Winterberg, and, in reply to a threat of dismissal, said that if protection against native aggressions were not given to the farmers they would leave the country.

The immediate cause of the first movement is said to have been a supposed slight offered to the wife of one of the border farmers, a lady of great influence and much respected by all who knew her. She was summoned several days' journey before an English magistrate, to answer a charge of slapping a refractory native servant. Her husband declared she should never again be subjected to such an indignity. He parted with his farms, loaded his movable property on his waggons, and 'trekked' (moved off) beyond the frontier. This was the beginning of the movement to 'trek' in search of a home in

what was then supposed to be a wilderness, where they would be free from the interference of the English Government. The first migration of the 'Voortrekkers,' as the followers of Retief were called, numbered, it is said, 6,000 souls, and embraced some of the most influential families in the old colony, who subsequently founded the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal Republics.

A manifesto published at the time gave as the cause of this movement, 'unrestrained vagrancy' of idle natives wandering about the country and living by thefts; 'pecuniary losses sustained by the slave emancipation; wholesale plunder by Kaffirs and Hottentots, desolating and ruining the frontier divisions; and the unjustifiable odium cast upon the inhabitants by interested persons, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in their favour.' The latter part of these remarks refers to those who, like Dr. Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, and Mr. Fairbairn, editor of the 'South African Commercial Advertiser,' had taken a leading part in advocating in the colony the policy approved by Lord Glenelg.

The manner in which the emancipation of the slaves was carried out was, no doubt, one of the principal causes of the dissatisfaction with the English Colonial Government which caused the Voortrekkers' migration. Slavery had been from the first a recognised legal institution in the colony. The highest authorities in Holland connected with the colony had from very early days declared as the result of their inquiries that the colonial farmers and wine-growers could not profitably carry on their business without slaves, and special facilities had been afforded for the regular importation of slave labourers from Java, Madagascar, and elsewhere. The slaves of Dutch masters had always been, for slaves, fairly well treated. Few of the tales of horrible and habitual cruelty, so frequently brought from sugar and other tropical plantations, were heard from the vineyards, orchards, and cornfields of South Africa. Most of the slaves worked in the house as well as on the farms. The Dutch farmers and their wives were usually

easy-going, kindly people—there was no stint of food, and whatever the horrors and hardships of his original capture and transportation, once arrived at the Cape, the slave had an easier time, and more security of life and limb, on the Dutch farm than he could ever have hoped for in his native country.

Still he was a slave, with no civil rights, liable to be bought and sold like his master's cattle, to be separated from parents, wife or children, to be beaten, maltreated in any way, and even killed with little chance of official inquiry or redress; for the slave was subject to the passions of an owner who, if generally kindly, might be brutal, and against whose will the slave had no effective appeal.

Hence when the Anti-slavery agitation stirred the hearts of humane and religious people in South Africa as it did elsewhere throughout the British Empire, the slavery which prevailed throughout the colony shared the general condemnation. The discussion was carried on with great bitterness, for colonial slave-owners, living in patriarchal fashion, with their slaves, felt that they did not deserve to be classed with the worst of slave-owners in sugar colonies, who 'worked out' their cargoes of imported slaves, without thought of anything but the cost of so much labour. A measure such as was adopted in India, which declared that the status of slavery should not be pleaded as affecting any criminal prosecution or civil suit, would have abolished slavery at the Cape, as effectually as it did in India, and would have caused little, if any, irritation, or dislocation of the relations between labour and capital. But no such discrimination was exercised. The Cape Colony was included by the Imperial Parliament in the same measures as were applied to slavery in the West Indies. The abolition of slavery was proclaimed in 1834, from which date all slaves were to be considered indentured for four years, and the final abolition of slavery took place from the 1st of December 1838. There were 35,745 slaves in the colony, valued, on an average of 85*l.* per head, at nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling, but the valuation had been reduced in England to 33*l.* 12*s.* per head, and only 1,200,000*l.* were voted by Parlia-

ment as indemnity money. This sum was further reduced by the payment being made in bills on London. There were no banks, so that the Cape slave-owner could only get his money by discounting the bill he received through some local money-lender, and the discount frequently amounted to twenty-five or thirty per cent. The irritation caused by the loss of so much money was frequently aggravated by the loss of a necessary servant, who could with difficulty be replaced. The excitement and agitation attending the abolition of slavery had been artificially stimulated till the slaves were often persuaded that they need no longer labour to support themselves. They frequently struck work, and master and slave alike suffered before the new conditions of employer and wage-earning labourer were understood and established.

The habit of 'trekking' into the wilderness, as the interior was still regarded, was nothing new in colonial history. From the earliest times of the Dutch settlement the Government had found it difficult to restrain the tendency of the more adventurous and unsettled of the frontier colonists to leave the settlement and seek their fortunes in the interior, when differences with their neighbours or with the local officials, or a spirit of adventure, induced them to move across the colonial border. Severe laws were enacted by the Dutch Government against the practice, and from time to time the colonial boundary was moved forwards so as to include the unauthorised settlers in the interior, and bring them again within the sphere of colonial law; but the impulse increased rather than diminished as the far interior was opened up by hunter and trader and missionary. The great Dutch Bible was, and is still to many Boer families, the book of all knowledge. The maps handed on from one edition to another, as drawn by the geographers of the seventeenth century, give the interior of Africa with much accuracy, and show the River Nile flowing in a great stream through Egypt, with the Land of Promise further on. It was said that travellers beyond the great Orange River and its tributaries had found streams flowing due north, and it got abroad that there was the road to

Egypt, and that by following these streams the traveller must at length arrive at the Promised Land of rest and abundance, free from all the worry and annoyance of English legislation and new-fangled ways of administration. Thus a religious impulse was added to a desire for more freedom and independence of colonial control, and a definite goal was presented to those who left the old colony in search of a better land and a new home.

1838.

The colony was not at rest when General Sir George Napier, another distinguished hero of the Peninsula War, arrived as Governor in 1838. Before he had been many weeks in office a mutiny was discovered among the Hottentots serving in the Cape Corps. They had conspired with several Kaffir chiefs to invade the colony, and murdered one of their officers. The murderers were brought to justice and executed. The relations between the Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström and his subordinates on the subject of the policy to be pursued towards the natives, were far from amicable. He was unsuccessful in an action he brought against Captain Campbell, Civil Commissioner of Albany, for an alleged 'conspiracy against his life and honour;' and before leaving for England he warned both the Kat River Hottentots and the Kaffir chiefs that if, 'after the system he had established and the selection of men to administer it, they proved restless and turbulent their friends in England would have every reason to decide that they had been in the wrong throughout.'

On July 10, 1838, Mr. Gladstone moved in the House of Commons for a commission of inquiry into the past and present state of our relations with the Kaffir tribes, but the motion was negatived.

On December 1, 1838, slavery was finally abolished throughout the colony. In the following year Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, resigned, and later on Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström, then in Europe, retired. The cattle robberies and outrages committed by the Tembus made it necessary to send a force into Tembuland, which

carried off 500 head of cattle as compensation for those which had been stolen.

But in 1840, the frontier being still disturbed, Sir George Napier visited it in person and had a meeting at the Chumie with the Kaffir chiefs Sandilli, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman and others, with about 4,000 followers, and some modifications were made in existing treaties: allowing farmers who had been robbed to pass into Kaffirland unarmed, to trace their cattle and lay the case before the Diplomatic Agent.

Under the government of Sir George Napier, Mr. John Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, organised a system of road-making, chiefly by convict labour, which was the first systematic attempt to improve the communications between the coast and the interior. Cape Town was separated from the mainland by a district known as the Cape Flats, the sand on which constantly moving before the wind, rendered it necessary to have double teams of sixteen oxen each to drag the ordinary loaded Cape waggon through the deep sand-drifts of the first stages. With the aid of Colonel Mitchell of the Royal Engineers, Mr. Montagu arrested the sand-drifts by tree-planting, and made good metalled roads into the interior, which were subsequently carried by easy gradients over the ranges of mountains which intersected the lines of traffic on to the highlands of the Karroo. These and other works of communication and harbour improvements were subsequently carried on by the Public Road Board established in 1844. At this time, an impulse was given to the intellectual life of the colony, by the establishment of a comprehensive and liberal system of education. The South African College had been founded in 1829, but in the country districts little was done, beyond individual efforts, to supply educational wants. Sir George Napier obtained the assistance of the great astronomer Sir John Herschel (who had spent four years in South Africa compiling a catalogue of the stars of the Southern hemisphere) in arranging a scheme adapted to the circumstances of the colony. Dr. Innes was appointed the first Superintendent-General in 1839; and under him and

his successor, Dr. Langham Dale, the history of colonial education has been one of steadily continued progress and success.

It was also during Sir George Napier's administration that the agitation for representative institutions, which had been previously intermittent, took permanent shape, and was continued with more or less energy till responsible self-government was fully conceded in 1872.

In 1843 the control of public expenditure was directed from England. The Governor was assisted by an Executive Council composed of heads of departments, and a Legislative Council consisting of five official members and five non-official colonists selected by the Governor.

1843.

General Sir Peregrine Maitland, another distinguished Peninsular veteran, a man of warmest religious feeling and strong sympathy with the missionary advocates of native rights, succeeded Sir George Napier in December 1843. The object of his appointment was stated by himself to be 'to examine into the state of Kaffir relations, as the frontier was greatly unsettled on account of the number of robberies and several murders, represented in numerous petitions sent home; and that he was to investigate the real state of affairs, and modify, if found necessary, the existing treaties.' He proceeded to the frontier, where Lieutenant-Governor Hare had been obliged to resort to military interference to compel the chiefs Macomo and Eno to pay indemnities for cattle thefts, of which complaints were numerous and frequent. Sir Peregrine met the chiefs with a vast assembly of natives, and strongly remonstrated with them on their breach of the existing treaties. He established a military post named Fort Victoria, between the Kat and Chumie Rivers, as a check on stock-stealing, and for some months it seemed as though something effectual had been done to protect life and property on the colonial frontier, and to avert hostilities between the colonists and their Kaffir neighbours.

Natal. A.D. 1497–1844.

The annexation of Natal to the Cape Colony in 1844 requires a short notice of the mode in which the colony grew up. The port of Natal, so called by the Portuguese from its discovery on Christmas Day, 1497, is situated about eight hundred miles in a direct line east and by north from Cape Town, and was more than 350 miles north-east of the existing colonial frontier at the time of its annexation to the Cape Colony. Kaffraria, the country which intervened, was peculiarly difficult to traverse, owing to the constant recurrence of deep and wide valleys and ravines thickly wooded and often affording a channel to large streams and rapid rivers. It was inhabited by numerous tribes of Kaffirs, which had been for generations in a state of constant migration and chronic hostility to each other; and in 1844 its vast forests still gave cover to elephants and other large game. A sheltered bar harbour affording access at high tide to boats and vessels of light draught made Natal an occasional resort of coasting traders, and all but the larger class of Indiamen, on a coast where such facilities for obtaining wood and water and repairing damages in smooth water are not often found; but there were few native inhabitants, and little, if any, trade, and no European settlement, though European sailors and adventurers, shipwrecked or wandering, had from time to time made themselves a home with the native tribes, and lived with native wives and families among the Kaffirs. In 1823 Lieutenants Farewell and King of the Royal Navy, visiting Natal with a view to form a trading settlement, found the country under the dominion of the Zulu chief Chaka. They were subsequently followed by Captain Alan Gardner, also an officer of the Royal Navy, who to great energy and enterprise joined a fervent piety and earnest missionary spirit. Chaka had recently swept the whole country to a distance of 150 miles south of Natal Harbour, slaying the men who resisted him, and carrying off the women and children and cattle to add to

the tribes under his sway in Zululand. Natal was almost a wilderness, the few remaining inhabitants hiding in the dense bush of the remoter mountain ranges. Chaka, who had rarely before met any Europeans save wandering adventurers, saw that the new-comers might be useful to him in many ways, and encouraged them to settle. On September 23, 1828, he was assassinated by his brother Dingaan, a yet more ferocious tyrant, who was ruling the newly-formed Zulu nation, when some of the Boer 'Voortrekkers,' who had left the Cape Colony on the reversal of Sir Benjamin Durban's policy and the abolition of slavery, after many months of wandering in what is now the Orange Free State, crossed the Drakensberg under Piet Retief and descended into the rich country of Natal, which was then almost void of inhabitants. It appeared to them exactly the sort of country they were in search of to settle in, and they applied to Dingaan for a grant of land. He first required them, as a proof of their sincerity and good-will, to recover for him a large number of his cattle which had been carried off by a distant and hostile chief. This service was performed by Retief and his followers with such extraordinary rapidity and success, that Dingaan's fears and suspicions were aroused; but, dissembling his real feelings, he expressed entire satisfaction, and invited Retief to visit him at his 'Great Place' in the Zulu country, and there to receive a formal grant of the lands they desired. Retief complied, and Dingaan, on February 4, 1838, having signed and delivered to Retief a formal deed of cession, invited him to a parting beer-drinking, and having induced him and his followers, to the number of about a hundred, to lay aside their arms, Dingaan gave the signal to attack them, and they were all overwhelmed and beaten to death by the mass of Zulu warriors who rushed upon them. Before the news of the massacre could reach the camps where the Boers had left their wives and families in Natal, several days' journey distant, the camps were attacked, and about six hundred men, women, and children were put to death

But the Boers soon rallied, and after some desperate fight-

ing routed Dingaan, who was put to death by his own followers as he sought shelter in the wilderness. The Boers set up as supreme chief of the Zulus Dingaan's brother Panda, who had aided them in subduing him. Panda was to hold Zululand in subordination to the Republic of Natalia, which the Boers established in the country south of the Tugela River. This brought them into contact with the English settlers at 'Durban,' the settlement which had been formed at the harbour of Natal. In the eyes of the English officials at Cape Town and elsewhere, the emigrant Boers were still contumacious violators of the colonial laws against unauthorised emigration. Hostilities ensued, with varying fortune. English troops were sent to Durban, and in 1842 Natal was taken possession of by the British Government, and by letters patent of March 31, 1844, was annexed to the Cape of Good Hope.

War of the Axe, 1846.

Early in 1846, Sandilli, the son and successor of Gaika, and chief of the great Gaika clan, had put himself at the head of a war party which comprised most of the frontier tribes. He collected his warriors to the number of 5,000, of whom 2,000 were armed with guns, and only a pretext was wanting to commence hostilities. A Kaffir was arrested for stealing a hatchet, and was being escorted to Graham's Town, when a body of his fellow-tribemen rescued him, cutting off the wrist of the Hottentot constable to whom he was manacled. The 'War of the Axe' ensued, and lasted for two disastrous years. In April 1846 an inadequate force was sent to occupy the Amatola fastnesses. A season of unusual drought rendered transport difficult. An action took place at Burnshill Mission Station, on the Keiskamma River; the Kaffirs captured sixty-three baggage waggons, and drove the escort back to Block Drift. The post of Victoria was abandoned and burnt; forty-one waggons were captured by the Kaffirs at Trompetter's Drift, and 4,000 cattle at Fort Peddie.

Flushed with these successes the Kaffirs poured into the

colony; the frontier farmers who escaped with their lives fled to fortified 'Laagers,' or towns, before the burgher forces called out from Colesberg, Cradock, and Graaff-Reinet could take the field and come to their assistance.

For more than two months nothing effectual could be done to check the Kaffir invaders, but on June 8 Colonel Somerset, with a small force of mounted troops composed of the 7th Dragoon Guards and the Cape Corps, supported by some Fingo native auxiliaries, overtook a large body of 600 Kaffir warriors near the Gwanga River, on ground favourable for cavalry, and defeated them with great slaughter after a very desperate resistance. This first marked success was followed by others; but the Tembus, who had previously been secretly aiding the Gaikas, broke out, and Kreli, the son of Hintza, was collecting his Galekas and threatening to join the enemy. A large force was sent to the Amatolas, under Colonel Johnstone and Sir Andries Stockenström, and by rapid and successful movements produced a great effect on the Gaikas and their Tembu allies to the eastward. Sandilli solicited and obtained a truce, but apparently only to obtain time, and when the Governor stated the terms he demanded as the price of peace—viz., a heavy fine in cattle and muskets, and a strip of territory to be given up—Macomo, an important member of the confederation, surrendered, but Sandilli hesitated, and the Governor felt compelled to resume hostilities. Sandilli ultimately gave himself up, but Pato and some minor chiefs still held out in the strong country near the Kei.

Kreli's conduct being considered hostile, a British force crossed the Kei and captured large quantities of Galeka cattle; but no very decisive result had been obtained when Sir Peregrine Maitland was succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger (January 27, 1847), an Indian soldier of great political experience, who had just conducted the war in China to a successful conclusion. Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated in his despatch appointing him that Sir Henry was sent out in consequence of 'the protracted state beyond all example of the Kaffir contest, the great expenditure

of public money, the wide destruction of private property, interruption of peaceful pursuits, and an abiding sense of insecurity.'

In March, Sir Henry Pottinger decided to drive Kreli across the Kei, but the colonial levies had been disbanded, and it was not easy to reassemble them.

Sandilli's people resumed their practice of cattle-stealing; an unsuccessful attempt to arrest him was repulsed by 2,000 armed natives; war was declared against the Gaikas, Sandilli was proclaimed a rebel, and, after a successful movement on the Amatolas, Sandilli and his brother Anta, a celebrated warrior, and eighty of his men were forced to surrender.

Colonel Somerset was detached to attack Pato and Kreli, and defeated 800 of their men in a smart action on the Chechaba, a tributary of the Kei; but a few days after five English officers riding out on a pleasure excursion were way-laid and murdered. After some delay caused by the rains, the Kei was crossed, and some impression was made on the Galekas.

There seemed, however, little prospect of ending the war, which had already proved exceedingly costly, and General Sir Harry Smith, who since his former service in Kaffraria had greatly distinguished himself in the first Sikh war in India, was sent out as Commander-in-Chief. He arrived in Cape Town, December 1, 1847, and on the 17th entered Graham's Town. The Keiskamma River was declared the colonial boundary, and the province 'British Kaffraria' was formed. In June 1848 a great meeting of Kaffir chiefs was held at King William's Town. The Governor addressed them, and Sandilli and the other Kaffir chiefs assented to all he proposed. Kreli also made peace, and the war of 1846-7, which had caused so much misery and destruction and had cost so many valuable lives, and more than a million sterling of English money, was declared to be ended.

A new civil division of 'Albert' was proclaimed between the Stormbergen and Orange River, and 'Aliwal North,' the first town on the Orange River, was subsequently founded in

May 1849. Meantime British sovereignty had been proclaimed over the districts beyond the Orange River, a measure which greatly alarmed the 'Trekboers,' who had left the colony twelve years before, and at that time, under their President Pretorius, occupied what is now the Orange Free State. They replied by a proclamation asserting their independence, and declaring their determination to defend it.

On July 22, 1848, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation denouncing the revolt, and offering a reward of 1,000*l.* for the apprehension of President Pretorius. Five days later Sir Harry crossed the Orange River with his troops, and on July 29 encountered the Boer forces at Boomplaatz. The Boers from under cover opened fire on the advancing British, and several officers and a number of men fell, Sir Harry Smith narrowly escaping. The British troops were checked for a time, but the artillery coming up, the advance was resumed, and the Boers retired beyond the Vaal, where they founded the Trans-Vaal or South African Republic. The Boers then and ever since have claimed Boomplaatz as a victory—not without some show of reason if we look to its ultimate results.

Much discussion and excitement had been raised in 1848 on the subject of the grant of representative institutions to the Cape Colony. Sir Harry Smith had prepared a scheme, intended to meet the wishes of colonists in this respect, when an agitation against making the colony a penal settlement by the introduction of convicts from England threw all other questions into the shade. On September 10, 1848, an Order in Council had been issued empowering the Secretary of State for the Colonies to transport convicts to the Cape of Good Hope. The justification of this measure was rested on the ground of the great cost of the Kaffir war; but it caused an explosion of indignation among all ranks and classes throughout the colony. The colonists assembled in public meetings on May 19, 1849, replied that the war had not been caused, conducted, nor in any way controlled by them, and that in its protracted miseries they had fully shared. But on

previous occasions, in 1842 and 1848, they had successfully resisted measures for forcing the colonists to receive convicts under the names of 'juvenile delinquents' and 'ticket-of-leave men,' and their feelings on the subject had been respected. An 'Anti-Convict League' was formed, pledging the members neither to employ nor shelter felons, and to hold no intercourse with nor furnish supplies to Government officials who aided the movement.

When, on September 19, 1849, the Government transport 'Neptune,' with convicts on board, anchored in Simon's Bay, the ship and crew and every one officially connected with the Government was, to use a modern phrase, 'boycotted,' and riots occurred, and property was destroyed, whenever the regulations of the Anti-Convict League were disregarded. On October 12 the Governor issued a proclamation, declaring his repugnance to employ force except against the Queen's avowed enemies; detailing the measures he had adopted for rationing and supplying H.M.'s forces and all who had been refused supplies for supporting the Government, and stating that he had received a private communication from the Secretary of State for the Colonies informing him that the design for making the Cape a penal settlement had been abandoned. But public feeling was not satisfied: the obnoxious convict transport still remained in Simon's Bay; the colonists were determined to prevent the convicts being landed even for exercise, or to preserve them from disease; and a few days later it became necessary to prohibit public meetings in Cape Town. At length, on February 13, 1850, news was received that the obnoxious Order in Council was rescinded, and on the 20th the 'Neptune' left Simon's Bay, after being detained five months. The Anti-Convict Association dissolved itself, and the usual relations between the Government officials and the rest of the community were gradually resumed.

Third Kaffir War.

While the attention of the Government and of the European colonists was absorbed by this unfortunate attempt to make South Africa a penal station for convicts from England, another great contest with the Kaffirs was fermenting on the eastern frontier. The settlement made with Sandilli and other leading chiefs in 1848 had few elements of permanence; and though by its terms the colonial frontier had been much advanced, neither the contests with emigrant Boers, nor the anti-convict agitation, had increased native opinion of the power of the white people. It had been made apparent to all men that the white people were, like the Kaffirs, capable of being divided into hostile factions, and that the Government was by no means invincible. The Kaffir chiefs had long felt that their own authority was being gradually undermined by some mysterious influence and transferred to the white settlers. They, consequently, readily lent ear to enchanters, who promised, by supernatural means, to restore the power which the chieftain felt was failing him, he knew not why. In May 1850, Umlangeni, a witch-doctor, who had acquired great influence over Sandilli and the Gaikas, made himself conspicuous by predicting victory to the Kaffirs in their next contest with the colonists. For a month or two the Government officials took little notice of him, and when they interfered to stop his exciting harangues, little attention was paid by the Kaffirs to the official prohibitions of meetings which continued to be held at night. Experienced frontier colonists foresaw another Kaffir war; but the Government at Cape Town were not convinced, and on November 8, 1850, Sir Harry Smith wrote to the Home authorities that he was convinced the country was in a perfect state of tranquillity. Less than a month later, on December 5th, he had to write: ‚The quiet I have reported in Kaffirland, which I had so much and such just ground to anticipate, is not realised, and I start this evening.' He started accordingly for the eastern

frontier, and learned on his arrival that it was too true; the Kaffirs in all directions were slaughtering their own cattle, stealing the cattle of their neighbours, and making every preparation for war. Upwards of 1,400 men of H.M.'s 6th, 73rd, and 9th Regiments and Cape Mounted Rifles were stationed in the Amatolas, at Kabousie Nek, and Fort Haré. On December 20 Sandilli was outlawed by proclamation, and 600 men under Colonel Mackinnon were sent to apprehend him. This force had to march through the Booma Pass, a narrow valley in the Keiskamma River district, where the road wound between steep hills covered with dense forest on both sides.

The ambushed Kaffirs waited till the long line of soldiers and baggage-waggons was fairly entangled in the defile, and then poured in a deadly fire from the cover of rocks and bush through which the narrow waggon-road had been cleared. Many men had fallen before the column was extricated. The next day the attempt was renewed with better success; but forty-two of our men were killed in these two engagements. A few miles off a sergeant and fourteen men were surprised and slain whilst escorting a waggon across the Dabe Flats, and the Governor was effectually shut up in Fort Cox.

So complete was the surprise, that one of the Gaika chiefs, who had taken a prominent part in the action of the Booma Pass, and who was personally well known to Sir Harry Smith, determined to ascertain the state of affairs at the English headquarters before the news of the disaster could reach the General. Having put away his gun, and washed off all traces of the battle, he presented himself at the General's quarters, where he was well known, was admitted to an interview, and paid his respects with many professions of loyalty. The General turned to Mr. Charles Brownlee, who was present as interpreter, and pointing to the Kaffir, said: 'See, Brownlee, here is one of the very men you tell me are preparing to break out!' Brownlee, staggered by the man's coolness and perfect self-possession, suggested that

he might know something of firing which had been reported as having been heard in the direction the column had taken through the Booma Pass. 'Oh,' said the Kaffir, 'the pass is full of game! No doubt the young officers were shooting birds as they went.' The General, expressing confidence in the man's loyalty, ordered an ox to be brought and given to him as a present; but the Kaffir, having learnt all he cared to know, excused himself from waiting, and decamped before the news of the fatal losses in the Booma ambuscade could arrive.

Christmas Day of 1850 is never likely to be forgotten by the colonists of the Eastern Province. At Auckland the settlers were assembled in the street, listening to instructions which had been brought by men of the Cape Corps. The cattle were being brought home by the Kaffir herds, who sat down as listeners round the white men. It was customary at Christmas for large numbers of Kaffirs to visit the settlement, and as usual they came; and some had just partaken of the dinner which the settlers had provided, when suddenly a signal whistle was given, and the Kaffirs rushed on the unarmed Europeans and killed ten or fifteen. The rest fled to a dismantled clay building, which they blockaded, and there they remained during the night with the women and children. But defence was hopeless against overwhelming numbers: the defenders' ammunition was soon exhausted; the Kaffirs set fire to the house, and twenty-eight men and boys were butchered in the presence of their mothers, wives, and children, who with difficulty escaped, half-stripped of their clothes, and distracted at the fearful spectacles they had witnessed. At Woburn sixteen Europeans were killed. At Johannesberg the settlers had timely notice, and with three exceptions escaped to Alice. All three villages, and all detached farms, were pillaged and burnt.

The Governor, Sir Harry Smith, was shut up in Fort Cox; but after one or two unsuccessful attempts, he gallantly rode to King William's Town, with an escort of only 250 riflemen, narrowly escaping capture by the Kaffirs who

swarmed in the bush along the road. The coloured police, 366 in number, deserted to the enemy; and the Gonnal Kaffir Hermanns induced the Hottentots settled on the Kat River to rise and swell the tide of invaders who poured into the colony. Before the end of the month, Kaffir bands had penetrated to a distance of 150 miles within the colonial boundary, and had overrun the districts of Somerset, Lower Albany, and Oliphant's Hoek. The colonists fled to the larger villages and towns, and organised the best defence they could; but the defection of 1,200 Kat River Hottentots, who joined the enemy, and were better shots than the Kaffirs, was a serious embarrassment. They drove out their missionaries, made a desperate attempt to surprise the strong military post of Fort Beaufort, and were not repulsed till they had lost their leader and fifty of their men.

Engagements took place throughout the country with varying success. At Albert the colonial forces had to retire with loss; but Whittlesea was nobly defended by the colonists, who, under Captain Tylden and Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker, repulsed twelve assaults. On the Imvani 4,000 Kaffirs were repulsed, and large numbers of cattle were captured. Forts Hare and Brown were attacked and Fort Armstrong was taken by the enemy, but soon after recaptured by Major-General Somerset. For a time the Eastern Province fought for life; but at length the tide turned; burghers (East and West) were called out, Fingo corps and special contingents were enrolled, and by the 1st of May, 1851, the colonial forces mustered 9,500 men.

The dense and extensive Fish River Bush proved very difficult to clear. 1,200 men were employed between the Koonap and the Kei Rivers, and the defiles of Blinkwater, Fuller's Hoek, and the Waterkloof, the western approaches of the Amatola Mountains and Macomo's stronghold, were carried, but with heavy loss, including Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, a gallant and able officer, and other officers and men. 2,000 men, under General Somerset, were despatched to the Imvani, and 1,000, under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, to the Lower

Kei to operate against Kreli. Both were successful, General Somerset capturing 20,000 head of cattle, and Eyre defeating the Kaffirs in a strong position with heavy loss, and relieving a number of Europeans and a large force of Fingoes who had 30,000 head of cattle. Meantime 500 of our troops who held the Waterkloof were attacked by 3,000 Kaffirs and forced to retire with heavy loss, but a few days later the position was recaptured, and Macomo's followers finally driven out of his stronghold with heavy loss.

On February 26, 1852, occurred the loss of the 'Birkenhead,' a steam transport which was bringing reinforcements of the 74th Regiment to Algoa Bay. She struck at night near Cape Agulhas. The vessel speedily filled; the men, drawn up on deck, waited with unwavering discipline till the women, children, and sick were embarked in the only two boats available. The vessel parted amidships before the boats could return, and the men went down, as they stood in their ranks, obeying to the last with heroic discipline the orders of their colonel, Seton.

The Home Government became dissatisfied with the protracted and expensive war. Sir Harry Smith returned home, and General Sir George Cathcart succeeded him, and took the field on April 9, 1852. On August 10 the General crossed the Kei, swept Kreli's country, and at the end of the operation dismissed to their homes the burgher force, with thanks to them and to Colonel Napier, who commanded them. The camp of 'General' Uithaalder, a Hottentot rebel leader who had designed to establish an independent Hottentot nation, was broken up; Uithaalder himself committed suicide, and most of his people submitted on the terms of an amnesty proclamation which had been issued.

Sir George Cathcart then turned towards Basutoland with 2,000 men, to punish Moshesh, the Basuto chief, for the countenance and assistance he had given to Kreli.

The English force met a check at the battle of Berea, which Moshesh improved by at once submitting and obtaining favourable conditions of peace. Gradually the Kaffir war, the most

severe and expensive of any we had been engaged in, died out—the Kaffirs ceasing to attack rather than submitting. It had cost the Home Government 2,000,000*l.* and had been marked by murders, pillage, and destruction of property unexampled in any previous war. Sir George Cathcart issued very wise and well-considered instructions for frontier defence and established military colonies on the border as a barrier against future Kaffir inroads.

VII. From the Grant of Representative Institutions to the Present Time.

General Sir George Cathcart, Governor from March 1, 1852, *to December* 5, 1854. *Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Darling, Lieutenant-Governor.*

On April 21, 1853, Orders in Council were received approving revised constitutional 'ordinances' which had been passed in the colony constituting a parliament for the colony. Every British-born or naturalised British subject, above twenty years of age, who had occupied for twelve months landed property of the yearly value of 25*l.*, or who had received salary or wages at the rate of not less than 50*l.* per annum, or with board and lodging at the rate of not less than 25*l.* per annum, was to have the franchise as a voter. The parliament was to consist of two Houses:—1st, the *Legislative Council*, an upper House or Senate, members of which must possess a property qualification, and be chosen by the voters in territorial 'circles.' It is presided over by the Chief Justice of the Colony, who has an usher of the black rod as his executive authority. 2ndly, the *House of Assembly*, which requires no property qualification in members, who are elected for a term of five years by various electoral districts. The Legislative Assembly is presided over by a Speaker, who has a sergeant-at-arms as his executive authority.

Parliament is required to meet once in every year. The Governor has power to dissolve at any time. No Bill reserved

for H.M.'s assent has any force till the Governor has signified the approval of it by the sovereign.

Lieutenant-Governor Darling opened the first Parliament with due ceremony on July 1, 1854. After a contest with Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the 'South African Commercial Advertiser,' who had been for many years an active advocate for representative institutions, Mr. (afterwards Sir Christoffel) Brand, father of the President of the Orange Free State, was elected Speaker, and seven Acts were passed, two of which secured freedom of speech in debate, and trial by jury in civil cases.

In 1854 a speculative mania for copper mining in Namaqualand led to the formation of thirty companies, with an enormous nominal capital, which ruined many speculators. One company only survives (the Cape Copper Mining), which has been very successful, having constructed a railway from Port Nolloth to the mines, which have yielded for many years past copper ore valued at more than a quarter of a million sterling per annum.

On May 26, 1854, General Sir George Cathcart, having laid down the foundation of an admirable system of frontier defence, including military colonies, left the colony to find a soldier's grave on the field of Inkermann.

In the same year, 1854, Sir George Clerk, whose services in India, especially during the first Affghan war, had placed him in the first rank of Indian political officers and administrators, carried out, as Special Commissioner from the Crown, the concession of independent sovereignty to the settlers in the territory north of the Orange River and south of the Vaal, since known as the 'Orange Free State.' A constitution under a President, and a Volksraad, or Parliament, was organised. The country, from its position, is to a great extent secured from frontier troubles. Twice only during the thirty years of its existence serious discussions have arisen with its neighbours in the old Cape Colony. In 1868, a long and expensive war with the Basutos was terminated, and the Basutos saved from the fate of a conquered nation by the

English Government assuming the sovereignty over them. In 1871, the diamond fields in Griqualand West, which had been claimed by the Orange Free State, were ceded by Waterboer to the English Government, and have since remained British territory ; but in neither case did the diplomatic differences lead to any interruption of the friendly relations between the Colony and Free State, which has, especially of late years, steadily advanced in prosperity under the wise administration of President Brand.

Sir George Grey's able administration of the Government of the Cape Colony from December 1854 to August 15, 1861, will long be remembered as an era of unequalled progress and prosperity. He laid down a native policy, the main principle of which was to rule the natives paternally, and to promote in every way their improvement in civilisation. Enjoying the confidence alike of the Home Government and of the colonists, he had great scope for administrative abilities of the highest order. His first care was an efficient system of frontier defence. In part compliance with his request for enrolled pensioners to form military colonies on the frontier, the Anglo-German Legion, raised for service in the Crimean war, were sent to him, and the Colonial Parliament voted liberal sums for their settlement.

These settlers have since added very materially to the security, as well as to the industrial resources, of the Kaffir frontier.

The frontier armed and mounted police were reorganseid and increased in efficiency and strength under Sir Walter Currie, a most able officer, and a variety of useful police regulations were enforced to prevent stock-stealing. Money allowances were made to chiefs, on condition of good behaviour and of aiding the police to prevent and detect crime. These and many other wise measures for the protection of life and property were supplemented by various plans for the improvement of the natives in the ways of civilisation

Hospitals were established, especially one at King William's

Town, under Dr. Fitzgerald, with a view to counteract by means of a training class for native students the pernicious influence of Kaffir witch-doctors. The employment of Kaffirs on public works, where they could earn good wages, was successfully promoted. Industrial and other schools for their education were opened, and a grant of 40,000*l.* per annum for a term of years was obtained from the Home Government to enable Sir George Grey to carry out his plans of native improvement. In all these plans he secured the powerful co-operation of the missionary bodies of various sects established in Kaffraria and the Eastern Districts.

Local administration was much improved by the Divisional Councils Act, passed in 1855, which provided elective bodies in each division, presided over by the Civil Commissioner or magistrate, for the management of roads and other public works.

The Kaffir Cattle-killing of 1856–7.

Sir George Grey's plans for curbing and civilising the frontier Kaffirs were materially, though indirectly and unintentionally, aided by the action taken by some of the most influential native chiefs, who wished to recover their waning power over their tribesmen.

The war of 1851–3 had died out rather by the exhaustion of the hostile tribes than by any permanent peaceful settlement; and the more influential Kaffir chiefs had shown in many ways their desire to renew the struggle whenever a suitable opportunity might offer. This disposition had become so apparent in January 1856 that the general in command on the frontier strongly urged the necessity for reinforcements.

It was believed that Kreli, with the British Kaffrarian chiefs and rebel Hottentots, had combined to attack the colony. Sir George Grey sent to Mauritius for a regiment, and the arrival of the British-German Legion strengthened the force on the frontier.

The hopes of the malcontent natives were fixed on Kreli, the son of Hintza, paramount chief of the great Galeka tribe. He is a man who possesses some of the best attributes of a savage chief—brave, generous, just, and, for a Kaffir, merciful, he deserved the confidence of his own followers, and has always been singularly popular with the few Europeans who have come in personal contact with him. After a long lifetime of constant collision with the European invader, in which he has been invariably worsted, he is still an unaltered and unconquered Kaffir—one of the noblest of his race—but apparently as little inclined to accept his position, or to acknowledge that the Kaffir is essentially weaker than the white man, as when he first, as a mere youth, succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of Hintza.

In 1856 Kreli was in the prime of life. His object was to unite all Kaffirs in a great national effort to drive the Europeans into the sea. It is difficult to judge how far in the measures he took for this purpose he was himself the deceiver or the deceived. He and other Kaffir leaders before him had seen that the increase of Kaffir cattle, consequent on a long period of peace, was a source of weakness when war broke out. A chief who was a great cattle-owner was disinclined to risk his herds; he gave in and made peace when they were in danger, and if they were captured, he gave up in despair. The ordinary device of leaving the cattle behind in some impenetrable forest or remote fastness, or in charge of some powerful allied tribe, before commencing hostilities, would not answer with an enemy so far-reaching and persevering as the English. The cattle must be got rid of as *impedimenta*. If once set free to act, the Kaffir warriors might be more successful than in former wars, and might then live on the cattle of the conquered white men. The only difficulty was how to unite the tribes to get rid of their cattle at one and the same time, and how to subsist till the final blow was struck?

The remedy was suggested by Umlakasi, a witch-doctor. He made use, as his instrument, of two young Galeka girls

who testified to having seen among the reeds of a remote mere or lagoon, not far from the mouth of the Kei River, the 'Water Bull,' who plays a prominent part in Kaffir demonology. The girls were possibly at first themselves deceived; but they subsequently confessed that when the witch-doctor wished to assure sceptical followers of the truth of his revelations, they assisted to manipulate the head and skin of an ox among the reeds, and to utter or repeat the words of the revelation which followed the vision. Figures of ancient warriors appeared and, claiming to be heroes of Galeka tradition, sent messages to their descendants, exhorting them to leave their lands untilled; to consume or destroy their stores of grain; by a given day to slay and eat all their cattle, and to watch for the rising of the next day's sun in the west, when the warriors of old time would rise from the dead and come in myriads to aid the Kaffirs in driving the white men into the sea, and securing their possessions as a prey to their Kaffir conquerors.

The story spread far and wide in Kaffirland, and the greater part of the Galekas and many allied clans followed the witch-doctor's directions. The Gaikas were for the most part restrained by the personal influence of Mr. Charles Brownlee; but elsewhere the cattle-killing went on to an alarming extent. Sir George Grey had a large force at his command, which he disposed so as to be ready to meet any attempt at armed violence.

At length February 18, 1857, the fated day, arrived; thousands of credulous Kaffirs, who had consumed all their cattle and grain stores, waited for the sun rising in the west, and for the appearance of the risen warriors of old time to lead them. The disappointment of their hopes did not at once dispel their illusions; but starvation soon stared them in the face, and they became a prey to despair. When Sir George Grey reached King William's Town he found the highways beset by crowds of starving Kaffirs, who were prepared to rob travellers, or to fall on their neighbours who had preserved cattle and corn, and had thus prevented, as the poor deluded

victims believed, the fulfilment of the witch-doctor's promises. Prudent arrangements were made to protect the roads, to feed the starving, and to provide work for those who could labour; 30,000 Kaffirs took refuge and found food and work in the colony; the numbers who died of starvation were described as 'appalling;' but the act of national suicide had averted a war of races, and had for the time completely broken the spirit of the Kaffir braves without a single shot being fired.

The calamity was also instrumental in weaning the Kaffirs from habits of war to habits of peaceful industry. The lessons learnt in famine were not forgotten, and thousands of Kaffirs, who before the great 'cattle-killing' had scorned every form of manual labour, learnt under the pressure of want to appreciate the sweets of honest work.

This unexpected result enabled Sir George Grey a few months later, when the Great Mutiny of May 1857 broke out in India, rapidly to forward valuable reinforcements to Lord Canning without risk to the peace of the colony.

During Sir George Grey's administration, some of the most useful public works in the colony were commenced. The first railway from Cape Town to Wellington was commenced by the Governor on March 31, 1859, and on September 17, 1860, the first truckful of stones for the Cape Town Breakwater was tilted into the sea by Prince Alfred (the Duke of Edinburgh) as a commencement of the great harbour works which are still in progress in Table Bay. The first line of electric telegraph from Cape Town to Simon's Bay was opened in the same year.

The unique Grey Library and numerous extensions and additions to libraries and museums at Cape Town, Graham's Town and elsewhere, testify to the wide range of Sir George Grey's sympathy with education and culture of science in all its branches.

After five years of eminently successful and popular administration, Sir George Grey was recalled in 1859 in consequence of his having anticipated the instructions of the Home Govern-

ment, by expressing in his speech to the Cape Parliament opinions strongly in favour of a federation of the South African states and colonies. He left the Cape amid the warmly expressed regrets of all classes of the community. On his arrival in England he found that the Duke of Newcastle had succeeded Sir Bulwer Lytton as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir George Grey's explanations of his action having satisfied her Majesty's Government, he was reappointed and returned to the colony in July 1860.

Prince Alfred visited the colony in that year, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. His visit is still often referred to as a bright era in colonial history, and many useful public works are dated from his inauguration of them. On August 15, 1861, Sir George Grey left the Cape for New Zealand, to which colony he had been appointed in consequence of the critical state of the relations between the settlers and natives.

Sir Philip Wodehouse succeeded Sir George Grey in November 1861. Among the events which marked the period of his rule the agitation for 'Responsible Government' by ministers responsible to parliament occupies a leading position. The party struggles thus caused were aggravated by extreme mercantile depression and adverse seasons.

Of vast importance to the future of South Africa was the discovery of diamonds in the districts beyond the Orange River and westward of the Free State. The children of a farmer in the Hope Town district found in playing a brilliant pebble, which was given to a neighbour, and by him to a passing trader, Mr. O'Reilly. Dr. Atherstone, of Graham's Town, an accomplished man of science, pronounced it to be a diamond, and it was bought by Sir Philip Wodehouse for 500*l.* to be sent to England. When the fact became known, diggers from all quarters flocked to the diamond-fields. A lady turned up a diamond with her parasol as she sat under some bushes on a small hillock where now the Great Kimberley Mine has been excavated. A town sprang up, and from this and other mines within a radius of a few miles, diamonds have since been

dug to the value of more than 4,000,000*l.* sterling for many successive years.

An immense impetus was thus given to commerce and agriculture. In three years the foreign imports of the colony were doubled. Foreign capital flowed in, employment of all kinds necessary to the development of the mines became abundant, trade flourished, and agriculture of all kinds connected with the supply of miners and traders throve to a degree never before known in the colony.

1870.

Sir Henry Barkly succeeded as Governor in August 1870, He had been a justly popular and successful Governor in other colonies, and was sent out specially instructed to deal with the burning question of 'Responsible Government.' The preceding fifty years had been a period of rapid growth in the political life of the colony. As long as the Cape was regarded merely as a great military and naval station, which enabled England to command the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the colonists of Dutch origin submitted with what grace they might to the absolute forms of government natural to a garrison and dockyard. After all, British military discipline was less onerous than the narrow mercantile formalism of the old Dutch East India Company, which had driven the long-suffering Dutch farmer to rebellion. But a love of political and religious freedom, and dislike to arbitrary restraints, was a part of the nature of these Dutch colonists, and they were in the habit, when galled by official interference at their old homes, of 'trekking' to seek more freedom further in the wilderness.

The great English immigration of 1820 modified, but did not in any way check, the aspirations of the older Dutch settlers. The new-comers were ethnologically men of precisely the same races as their predecessors, but whilst the descendants of the Teutons, Northmen, and Celts, who had colonised South Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had re-

mained very much as they were when they left Holland and were little altered during the sojourn in Africa, save by local circumstances, their English kinsmen who arrived in 1820 brought with them all the political and social influences which had changed the England, Scotland, and Ireland of Charles I.'s time into the United Kingdom ruled by George IV. They were English of the first generation after the French Revolution, after the great war which had been a struggle for England's existence as a nation. They were imbued with the ideas which a few years later led to the English Reform Bill, and to the peaceful revolution—the long train of changes consequent on parliamentary reform, of which we have not yet seen the end. In the good land to which they emigrated the English settlers of 1820 found a wider and more liberal field for industry; they have thriven in Africa, but they have also met hardships and war, to strengthen them and to bring out the energies which are apt to rust in time of peace and prosperity.

Some rivalry grew up between the English Eastern and the Dutch Western Provinces, but it was not all of an unwholesome kind. Both parties wished for more complete self-government, such as the wise foresight of Sir George Grey would have afforded them ten years earlier.

But there were powerful adverse interests on the other side. The great Dutch population in South Africa is by nature conservative, not in the sense in which we understand the feudal and monarchical conservatism of our English farmers of the last century. The Dutchmen are republicans; but not of the Voltairian or Gambetta type. Their ideal republic is of the days of Milton and Hampden, such a republic as the Seven United Provinces formed—as far removed from democratic socialism as from Spanish imperialism.

When the idea of responsible government was first broached to this class, their first impression generally was that it would greatly increase the influence of the English settlers in the Eastern Province. It would destroy the balance between East and West. Despite the promises of its advocates, it might

greatly enhance the cost of government. It would certainly close the English Treasury to all colonial appeals—this was, in fact, one leading motive of the English Government in assenting to it. It would lead to the withdrawal of the greater part of the English government. It was a 'leap in the dark.' After all they might be far worse off than under such a *régime* as Sir George Grey's. It would be well to wait a while, and see how the new colonial system worked in Canada, Australia, and elsewhere.

These conclusions were, as was natural, strongly supported by the Bureaucracy, the official services. Less powerful than the same class in India, they had all the virtues and all the defects of the English official class throughout the world. Appointed frequently from home, or through home influence, generally well born and well educated, it was difficult for the English-born colonial official to estimate aright the administrative capacity of the colonial agency, available for taking his place, or to believe that colonial affairs could be well administered by men who had never been at a public school or university in Europe. Hence the powerful official element was generally averse to any attempt to introduce responsible government. Hence it came to pass that when the subject was fairly placed before the colonial public and parliament for final decision, after much debate, and some unaccountable changes of opinion among individual members, the immediate acceptance of the proffered gift of entirely responsible self-government was accepted by only a majority of one.

1872.

Mr. John Charles Molteno, whose perseverance and strong practical sense had made him the leader of the advocates for responsible government in the Legislative Assembly, was the first colonial premier, and after some difficulty succeeded in forming a ministry.

1875.

From the first annexation of the Diamond Fields to the British dominions in South Africa as the province of Griqualand West, there had been more or less of turbulence and disaffection among the heterogeneous assemblage of diggers suddenly drawn together from the floating population of mines and cities in every part of the civilised world. In 1875 the Administrator reported open combinations against his government. A small body of troops was sent up from the colony, and order was restored at a cost of 10,000*l.*, which was charged on the revenue of Griqualand West.

1876.

Much uneasiness was felt and expressed in 1876 at the attitude of the native population both within and beyond the colonial border, and the Eastern members of parliament, with very few exceptions, urged the necessity for adopting some systematic scheme of frontier defence. A commission of inquiry was appointed, and recorded much evidence in support of this view. It was more than twenty years since the last great Kaffir war had come to an end, and the precautions against native aggressions laid down by Sir George Cathcart had fallen into disuse and been neglected.

Military men were unanimously of opinion that the recent reductions of regular military establishments had been carried too far, and that the military garrison of the colony was totally inadequate to meet the exigencies of any serious native rising; whilst the old system of burgher forces and commandos had quite fallen into disuse.

The older frontier colonists who remembered the wars of 1834 to 1856, and the men who had the longest and best experience of natives and their customs, observed in 1876 great changes in the native population, which did not always portend peaceful intentions. The generation of old native warriors who had felt the weight of British prowess in the field

was dying out and was being succeeded by a younger generation, who were anxious once more to try their strength against the English, and who formed a distinct war party in the kraals of most influential chiefs beyond the colonial boundary. The natives everywhere had developed an extraordinary passion for the possession of firearms. In former years it had been impossible to gratify this longing. The spirit of the laws of all colonies and states in South Africa had always been against the sale of firearms to natives, and generally forbade such traffic more or less absolutely; but the long peace had led to much practical laxity in the enforcement of such laws, and latterly the Government itself had condoned, if not encouraged, the sale of firearms to natives, without much check or discrimination.

This was especially the case at the Diamond Fields and on the railways which were in course of construction in all parts of the colony.

The Kaffir labourer was only occasionally a colonial subject. The supply of colonial labour was never equal to the demand in ordinary times, and when extra work, such as the digging out of diamondiferous soil or the construction of railways, was in hand, it became necessary to draw additional supplies of labour from the native tribes at a distance. Able-bodied Kaffirs, sometimes impelled by the desire to earn the means of buying wives or cattle, sometimes obeying the command of their chief, flocked to the mines or railway works, worked hard for a time, living well on ample rations, and saving what was to them a fortune from the liberal wages given by contractors and other employers who competed for their labour. It was found that no wages were so attractive as a gun or the means of buying one, and the Kaffir labourer who had performed his spell of some months of really hard work in the colony rarely returned home without a gun as part of his savings.

The cautious Dutchmen in the Transvaal and Orange Free State had remonstrated against this neglect of the old South African traditions, and the illegal relaxation of old

laws, but in vain. It was an undoubted fact that the native tribes had acquired firearms in large numbers, and, as all large game except in the remoter districts had been killed out of the country, it was asked for what purpose were the natives so arming themselves if not for war?

Other symptoms were noticed of a wave of discontent sweeping over the native tribes. The police and frontier magistrates constantly observed parties of foreign Kaffirs, Zulus, and Basutos travelling about among the native tribes and locations on both sides of the border. When questioned as to their objects and destination, they were sometimes on visits of ceremony, or to attend domestic gatherings connected with marriages or funerals; sometimes they were merely collecting wild-cat and jackal furs, or crane's feathers for the full-dress costumes of distant warriors. But the explanation was not always consistent with the routes they took or the attention they received during prolonged stay at the kraals of influential chiefs. As Kaffir diplomacy is always conducted by word of mouth, it was hopeless to learn more than the envoys chose to tell, and there was a serious want of intercommunication between the scattered English political officials within and beyond the colony, and still more between the departments of native affairs in different colonies and states. But almost every observant political officer felt some uneasiness as to the native attitude for which he could scarcely give a very satisfactory reason.

Occasionally an educated native would indulge in vapouring, which to anxious minds among the Europeans sounded treasonable. He would talk about native union to counteract the pressure on natives, which was supposed to be one of the objects of the various schemes for a confederation of the European colonies. The Europeans were going to confederate, why should not the natives?

But those who talked thus were rarely men of much weight among their own people. If they gained audience and approval among the young men, they did not approve themselves to the old warriors or leaders of the right metal.

Their European training had to some extent denationalised them.

The worst symptom of all was the increased prevalence of stock-stealing—always in the eyes of old colonists an omen of evil, as a symptom of coming war. But there were other explanations at hand. There had been a succession of bad seasons—many Kaffirs were starving; and though work at good wages was to be had in the colony, a Kaffir will usually prefer stealing his neighbour's sheep to either hard work or to starving, if the work is distant, and the chances of punishment remote. Moreover, complaints of stock-stealing always provoked a certain amount of contradiction from the official classes. Stock-owners, they said, were themselves in fault. They employed ill-conditioned Kaffirs, and underpaid them; neglected to report their losses speedily, or to follow up the tracks of thieves promptly, &c.; so that there was always an answer ready to meet the frontier farmer's complaint.

There was also, of course, another view of each of the symptoms of native unrest above described, and this view was apt to be especially satisfactory to those not on the spot and not likely to suffer from a native rising. 'It was the business,' they said, 'of military men to scent war afar off, and to make useless military preparations against imaginary dangers.' The crushing defeats inflicted in the last war on the most martial tribes, followed by the political suicide of the cattle-killing mania, had effectually broken the spirit of the fighting Kaffirs. 'Many tribes, emphatically the Basutos, had turned their spears into ploughshares, and had learnt the profitable results of husbandry.' 'Old experienced chiefs, like Kreli, had seen too much of the evils of war, and were too certain to lose by it, to risk their encouraging the vapouring of a few young braves.' 'As for firearms, the natives coveted them as children and boys do, as toys which are badges of manliness; they could not use them when they got them; such arms as they could purchase were more dangerous to the possessor than to his foeman. We could always retain in our own hands the supply of ammunition.'

'The wave of discontent and disaffection, and the embassies from one chief to another, were the imagining of political officials who had nothing else to write about, and who felt that if the Kaffirs settled down, their own occupation would be gone.' 'The complaints of increased stock-stealing came from idle and negligent frontier farmers, who preferred political harangues in the canteen and market-place to the hard work of watching their flocks on unenclosed pastures.'

These optimist views were for the most part accepted by the Ministers at Cape Town; and the question was unfortunately made a field for party strife, in which the Western men supported the Ministry, whilst the Eastern and frontier farmers upheld the Opposition in demanding effective measures of protection against native disturbances.

[*Unfinished MS.*]

HISTORY AND ASSASSINATION.

By HERBERT HAINES, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(*Read* January 1889.)

'WITH a modern reader, the assassination of the four leaders, in their houses, and at the banquet, raises a sentiment of repugnance which withdraws his attention from the other features of this memorable deed.'

Grote, in the passage just quoted, is referring to the assassination which freed Thebes from the Spartan yoke.

But, though the historian himself apparently sympathises with the Theban conspirators, he only indirectly ventures to depreciate 'the repugnance' which he credits the modern reader with entertaining towards murder done in any cause, or on any persons.

The object of this paper is to raise, without attempting to answer, the question whether or no this repugnance, however useful and desirable, is invariably agreeable to reason?

Whether, in fact, we may, in studying history, assume as a moral law the iniquity of murder, or whether we must judge every recorded case of political murder on its own merits?

And further, whether, if we decide that assassination is sometimes permissible, we can classify the great political murders of history, and say, murders done in obedience to such and such principles, under such and such circumstances, were justifiable and right, and all other murders were unjustifiable and wrong?

Before entering on these questions, it is necessary to decide on a definition of murder. Now it must, I think, be allowed that every illegal killing is not murder: taking life in civil war, in accordance with the rules of war practised by the State in which the war takes place, is, for instance, not murder,

morally speaking. Whatever may have been the justice of their respective causes, such men as Simon de Montfort, Lord George Murray, and General Lee were not murderers.

But how and when does civil war begin?

When and where does it end?

What is civil war?

Were the Sicilian Vespers civil war?

Was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew civil war?

Were the Spaniards, who, in provinces obedient to King Joseph, stabbed French sentinels, and shot in the back French couriers, warriors or assassins?

Again, does murder depend, morally speaking, on the number of men employed in its perpetration, and on the geographical position of its theatre? Take, for instance, the great plot to assassinate William III.

There is a dangerous inclination in the modern reader to dismiss with contempt as despicable sophistries the argument by which Barclay and his friends sought to justify their attempt.

'Desperate Jacobite adventurers,' says the modern reader, and passes on, with a smile or a sneer, at men well born, well bred, more unselfish, and twice as brave as himself. But the student of history, who is worthy of the name, pauses. Conspirators are always, to speak colloquially, 'a mixed lot,' but in this conspiracy we find men, gentlemen by birth and breeding, soldiers by profession, and adventurers only because they had sacrificed position and property to, what they regarded as, the cause of duty.

Now it is worth while considering the arguments by which such men thought they could justify their proposed assassination. To put them shortly, they were these. James, King of England, was at war with William, Stadtholder of Holland. And these servants of King James intended to begin a war in England by 'cutting off the Prince of Orange in winter quarters.' Why should they not do so? In war it is quite permissible to kill by surprise the enemy's general; it is permissible to attack the enemy where you choose, except on

neutral ground; it is permissible to pass through his lines by means of disguises and false watchwords; and can the number of persons making the attack affect its moral nature? Certainly it was not chivalrous to surprise and butcher a warrior, while taking a morning drive, but was chivalry an obligation in dealing with a man who had treacherously attacked his own father-in-law, and who owed his present advantageous position to the treason of the English people and the desertion of the English army?

Again: George Cadoudal, a man whose name is synonymous with loyalty and courage, argued that he had plotted to kill, but not to murder, the First Consul. 'I proposed,' he said, in effect, 'to attack Buonaparte and his guards, numbers and arms being equal.' 'I had a perfect right to secure the advantage of the surprise, and a perfect right to shift the theatre of the war from Brittany to Paris.'

Another, more obvious, and not yet altogether discredited, resource of sophistry, is to argue that the forms with which an act is accomplished can alter its moral nature. Thus we find that many persons have declined to classify the crime of the English regicides with that of Ravaillac, on the ground that King Charles I. was tried, condemned, and executed as 'a traitor to the people of England.' These persons would have admitted indeed, that the offence of 'treason to the people of England' was unknown to the English law; that the people of England were not represented at the trial; that the Court was an illegal one, the Bench packed, the verdict a foregone conclusion, and the person of the victim, legally speaking, inviolable. Nevertheless the regicides at the time, and their defenders since, found a mysterious something in the (to quote Hallam) 'imaginary solemnity' of the trial, and 'in the insolent mockery of the forms of justice,' which distinguished the cutting through the neck of King Charles I. from the stabbing in the body of King Henry IV.

I am not aware whether anyone has held that the atrocious murder of the late Tsar was palliated by the fact that he had been solemnly condemned to death by a Nihilist com-

mittee, but it would not be at all surprising to find such an argument seriously advanced. For the idea that a crime can be altered in its nature by the machinery with which it is accomplished, or the forms with which it is surrounded, is a very widespread one. How widespread, is shown by the fact that, while the massacres of 'the Indian Mutiny' have found few, if any, European apologists, the more numerous and more atrocious massacres of the French Revolution have been frequently defended; and this is the more curious, because an act committed after a mock trial, and with a certain sham legality, is necessarily committed with premeditation, and in cold blood.

A kindred theory to that just noticed was at the bottom of the curious ideas as to assassination which prevailed among Italian bravoes. Poisoning food or wine they regarded as not only unprofessional, but wicked; but the least scrupulous of the brotherhood of murder held it permissible to use a poisoned weapon, while no one condemned the Venetian practice of breaking off the blade of a glass dagger in the victim's body.

Lastly, there was the ultra-scrupulous bravo, who, in his own opinion, earned his money like a man of honour; that is to say, who put on a helmet and a shirt of mail, chose his own time and place, and then gave his client's enemy the opportunity of drawing a sword, the effective use of which he had done his best to provide against.

And this man, again, was despised by the professional duellist, who could be hired to pick a quarrel with anyone of sufficient social standing, and not too great skill in fence.

Then, again, we have the Corsican vendetta, in pursuance of which, when once engaged in, you may, without disgrace or sin, shoot any relative of your enemy in the back; but, I believe, though I am not quite certain, that you must either shoot or stab, and may not poison.

Merely noticing these different theories to show the necessity for investigation, and care in the use, in historical studies, of the word murder, I pass on to the main subject of

my paper, and begin by giving a definition of murder, which, without defending as perfect, I propose to use for present purposes.

'Murder is the taking of human life without legal authority, and not in time of war, and in accordance with the existing laws of war.'

The political murders recorded in history, which have been committed in obedience, or in professed obedience, to some, more or less respectable, principle, may be roughly divided into—

1. Murders of tyrants (in the Greek sense of the word).
2. Murders of traitors.
3. Murders of enemies of the human race.
4. Murders of unscrupulous enemies in political self-defence.
5. Murders of the supposed enemies of God.

Let us consider—

1st. Murders of tyrants, the word being used in the Greek sense, meaning a man whose power is founded on usurpation.

The leading features of an ordinary Greek tyranny are familiar to all of us. There is a small state divided into bitterly hostile parties, and after a more or less prolonged period of misrule, varied perhaps by anarchy, one man seizes the supreme authority. Whether he has gained his power by the help of one party, or by deceiving all, by foreign support, or by means of mercenaries, that power has been gained by the unlawful use of force, and it exists by virtue of the force which can be employed in its defence: blood has been shed to establish it; blood will, when necessary, be shed to maintain it; blood must be shed if it is to be overthrown. Then arise these questions—

Has any citizen a right to resist power unlawful in its origin, has he a right to endeavour to overthrow the tyrant by means similar to those by which the tyrant rose to power?

As the tyrant has forfeited his life by the law he has subverted, is any citizen at liberty to execute that law?

Speaking generally, it may be said that ancient public

opinion answered all these questions with emphatic affirmatives; now, was this ancient public opinion, or was it not, correct?

The modern thinker will at least add certain conditions: he will require that the tyrant's rule shall have been not only wrongful in its origin, but bad in itself; that the tyrant's death shall be the only means of subverting his rule, and shall be the signal for the commencement of a better state of things.

But, if all this were so, then, what is he to say?

Ought patriots to have looked on with folded arms, during long years of disgrace abroad and oppression at home, till the author of all this evil, because he had thoroughly succeeded, because he had substituted his own will for the law which would have cut short his career, died in peace, full, it might be, of years, wealth, and honours?

Take, for instance, the history of Klearchus of the Pontic Herakleia: if his assassins saw a reasonable chance of bringing about a less intolerable state of things by his death, were they, or were they not, wrong to act as they did?

But it was not only in revenge for public injuries, or to effect a political revolution, that the ancient tyrants were stricken. Of some of them it was as true as of the Visconti that 'they never spared man in their anger or woman in their lust.' Even now, in most civilised countries, the law views with great leniency the act of a husband who slays the destroyer of his honour, in a maddening burst of righteous indignation. If we justify that law, should we not give wider rights to the husband who has lost a wife, or the father who has been robbed of a child, by brute force, exercised by a usurper whose successful political crimes have rendered the law powerless either to punish him or to shield his victim?

If the famous Virginia legend were truth instead of fiction, should we be disposed to condemn Virginius, had he stabbed the Decemvir instead of his own innocent daughter?

2nd. The murder of traitors.

(1) Let us take the case where the traitor's life is taken by the orders of his sovereign.

To a modern Englishman, living under a law-abiding and ultra-humane Government, there is certainly something repugnant in the conduct of a King, who, being bound to afford protection and an example to his subjects, should order one of them to be slain contrary to law and without trial. But is there not also something repugnant to a loyal and law-abiding Englishman in the fact that a traitor should escape punishment if his guilt has made it impossible for him to be brought to trial?

The captain of a ship is held justified if he quells a mutiny by shooting down its leaders; the colonel of a regiment is praised if, at the critical moment of some desperate struggle, he cuts down a soldier whose cowardice might demoralise the rest.

May not then a Sovereign save his country from the terrible disaster of civil war or revolution by the same means as the captain may employ to save his ship, or the colonel his regiment?

Is not a Throne a possession which its occupant is bound to protect at any price?

Is not the safety of the State the highest law, and is not its Monarch the proper judge of what that safety requires?

To answer these questions in the negative is to deny that the State has the right of self-defence, a right which each of its units possesses, and to deny that a King may do as much for his Crown as any one of his subjects might do in defence of his life. Of course this question of the moral right of a Sovereign to procure the murder of a traitor only arises when the traitor's guilt is certain, when the law is powerless to deal with him, and when his continued existence endangers the Crown.

It is a commonplace that 'revolutions are not made of rose-water,' meaning that they can scarcely be made successful without the use of illegal violence; but should a Sovereign be restricted to rose-water when his enemies are provided with vitriol? When the law is too weak to deal with a phenomenal state of things, should it still be powerful to hamper the defender who has sworn to maintain it?

The murder of the Duke of Guise is a well-known example of the assassination of a mighty traitor. And, assuming his treason, and admitting the impossibility of bringing him to trial, are we prepared to condemn Henry III. for taking the life whose continuance was incompatible with that of the Royal authority?

No doubt a gentleman's sympathies go out to Crillon, and do not go out to Lorgnac; and Guise, with all his faults, was a more lovable character than his Royal murderer. But the question is one, not of sympathy, but of judgment. Guise was stronger than any subject should ever be: he had, by unscrupulous advancement of his own interests, by exciting the fanaticism of the extreme Romanists, and by intriguing with a foreign Power, gained a position by means of which he could reasonably expect to rule Catholic, and to crush Protestant, France; that power he and his house would have abused to the full, and, while respecting, probably, the King's life, and perhaps his nominal sovereignty, would have reduced him to the position of a figure-head of the vessel of State. Henry saved France, and saved the Throne, in the only way which the success of Guise's treason made possible.

Was he right or wrong?

But, if Henry III. of France had a moral right to have Henry of Guise murdered, why had not Philip II. a similar right against William the Silent?

William was even stronger in the Netherlands than Guise in France; he was actually in arms against his Sovereign; his death promised as great advantages to that Sovereign's cause, and to bring him to justice was even more obviously hopeless. As a matter of fact, William the Silent was, in everything but military ability, far superior to the Duke of Guise, and English public opinion has always regarded the Dutch Revolution as one of the few instances recorded in history of a justifiable rebellion. All this, however, cannot affect our judgment as to whether, in defence of his Crown and his kingdom, a Sovereign may cause to be done illegally what a rebel will not permit to be done legally.

Another instance of an attempt to terminate a civil war by the murder of the leader of one of the parties engaged in it, is furnished by the conduct of the English Government in offering a reward for Prince Charles Edward 'alive or dead.' This, of course, meant putting a premium on his assassination, since the attempt to kidnap a daring young soldier in the midst of a devoted army would probably have only been made in order to form an excuse for his murder. Now this case has the merit of placing the moral question in a very fair light. On the one hand, we have a Sovereign in possession and accepted as King *de jure* by the bulk of a nation which could not truthfully be described as badly governed. On the other hand, we have a Prince leading, with the utmost humanity and chivalry, a dangerous rebellion, to the success of which his life was essential, and fighting in a cause which any right-minded man might have embraced, and which every Roman Catholic was bound to support.

Ought we then, or ought we not, assuming, for the sake of the argument, that the Hanoverian cause was the rightful one, to blame the Government for seeking to secure its triumph, and terminate the civil war, by the murder of their chief opponent?

Then, too, what is the moral responsibility of the subject who obeys his Sovereign's orders? Assuming a King may command the necessary murder of a rebel, is the King the absolute judge of such necessity? Is the subject who executes the murder as irresponsible as the executioner of a lawfully, though it may be wrongfully, convicted criminal? Suppose you condemn the murder of D'Ancre, or that of Guise, what is your verdict on Vitri, or on the gentlemen of the Quarante-cinq?

(2) Let us take the case where the traitor's life is taken without his Sovereign's authority. Here the murderer has himself to answer in the affirmative three questions—

1. Is his victim a rebel?
2. Is he a dangerous rebel?
3. Is the law unable to touch him?

It may be asked by what right any man can answer these

questions concerning a fellow-subject, and, even if the answers are obvious and indisputable, as in the case of a traitor leading a dangerous revolt, has a private individual the right to sentence his equal, and to set by his action an example of treacherous bloodshed which any desperado can follow?

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the duty of protecting the Throne, and the expediency of terminating a civil war, is very obvious and very imperative.

3rd. Murders of enemies of the human race.

Does history show us men whose crimes have been so heinous as to deprive them of the right to protection from those laws of God and man which they have outraged? Our ancestors, as we all know, outlawed, in the strict sense of the term, certain criminals. These criminals were made 'wolf-heads,' and, like wolves, might be hunted down as dangerous vermin.

Now, what our ancestors could at one time do legally, can society, illegally, but morally, do at any time? May a man more dangerous than any ravenous beast, or venomous reptile, be slain as you would slay a tiger in the jungle, a mad dog in the street, or a cobra in your compound?

And, if not, why not?

Should the laws of society protect social pirates? May not a man place himself outside the limits, not indeed of Divine mercy, but of, so far as his fellow-men are concerned, Divine protection?

With regard to two classes of men, these questions have been put and answered. It has been held that there are crimes so atrocious that their authors should meet with punishment wherever that punishment can be made to find them out. It has also been held, by men of the Teutonic race, that persons may, when they have constituted themselves champions of crime and anarchy, be hunted down by volunteer champions of law and order. As examples of the first class of men, I instance, without expressing here any opinion as to their deserts, the English regicides, and the leaders in 'the Reign of Terror.' In the eyes of the Cavalier of that

day, believing, as an article of his Creed, in the personal inviolability of the Sovereign, the murder of King Charles was a crime the perpetrators of which must henceforth walk the earth branded more indelibly than Cain himself, and without his special immunity; and, if they had not, like the arch-traitor Judas, the grace to execute justice on themselves, then let every 'honest' man speed them towards their own place.

And this view, when acted upon, met with general approval alike in the Protestant republic of Holland and in the Catholic monarchy of Spain.

With regard to the Terrorists, public opinion has never, I think, condemned either Charlotte Corday or those agents of 'the *terreur blanche*' who struck down criminals as wicked as, though less notorious than, Marat himself.

In forming an opinion on this question, we should, it seems, determine—

1. The expediency of punishing certain crimes by assassinating their perpetrators.

2. Whether, when a criminal has subverted the law of his State, and defied that of his Maker, he has or has not divested himself of his claims on, as he has ignored his obligations to, his fellow-men.

As to the murder of habitual criminals, whom the law could not touch, and whose successes were a menace to society, this course was, as we all know, adopted in Germany in the Middle Ages, and in the United States in our own times.

The Vehmgerichte were terribly abused, and often struck the innocent and spared the guilty, but the principle on which they relied was this. Germany was infested by men who used their birth, their castles, and their retainers to secure for themselves, and their agents, impunity for lives of open crime. God did not, and the Emperor could not, strike: the Vehm could and sometimes did; and public opinion decided that arbitrary, uncertain, biassed, and illegal justice was still far better than no justice at all. Accordingly we find that 'the Secret Tribunals' spread, and flourished, in the teeth of powerful

opposition, and in defiance of some of the strongest Teutonic instincts, and, when they did fall, fell partly from their own corruption, and partly because the law of the land became at length strong enough to do their work.

The history of 'the Vigilance Committees' it is unnecessary to enlarge on: from time to time in different parts of the United States men, more or less moral, and with something to lose, have had to choose between anarchy and Lynch law; hitherto they have always preferred to endure the evils, and accept the responsibilities, of the latter.

4th. Murders of unscrupulous enemies in political or social self-defence.

The moral defence for such murders is so weak that I have only been induced to notice them by reason of the existence of one of the strangest and least investigated phenomena of modern history, that is, the existence, and the success, of the 'Ku Klux Klan' in the Southern States of the American Republic. Now, when the 'Ku Klux,' or 'Invisible Empire,' flourished, in the year 1868, there was in existence a fairly strong Government, regular courts of law, and a recognised legal code; but, in the opinion of the majority of Southerners, the Government was a foreign one, the courts hopelessly prejudiced, and the assumption on which the new laws were based, namely the equality of white and coloured citizens, was a lie, and an immoral and pernicious lie. The 'Ku Klux,' supported by the strongest and best party in the South, devoted itself to driving out the 'carpetbaggers' and 'schalawags'—who were manipulating the negro vote for their own profit and to the destruction of the party of property and intelligence—and by sheer terrorism succeeded; the political adventurers being hunted north, and the newly enfranchised blacks cowed into submission. This was done by threats, floggings, and murders, and the justification of the work, and of its tools, put forward by the Southerners, was this. Property, honesty, and intelligence were being crushed by the brute votes of an ignorant rabble led by political adventurers, and thrust into an unnatural and, except by Federal force, un-

tenable position by a Government to which no Southerner owed allegiance. The 'Ku Klux' might save all that was worth saving in the country, and the choice lay between its action and surrender.

Now, granting all this—and I have only reproduced the argument of Southern advocates—was the use of such means excusable? If an outside Power subverts the laws of a State, and uses one of its factions to work the moral and material ruin of that State, within what limits should the opposition to foreign tyrants and domestic demagogues be confined?

5th. Murders of the supposed enemies of God.

As a matter of fact, although religion has been the most potent motive with many murderers, it has very rarely been the sole one.

The Jewish assassins of whom we read in the Old Testament struck in the national cause; Mahommedan fanatics may be credited with hating the Frank, as a Frank, as well as an infidel; the Roman Catholics who took, or attempted, the lives of leading heretics had often either political objects or pecuniary inducements; the Thugs, though acting on religious grounds, generally chose victims worth plundering; even the Scotch Covenanters had private wrongs to avenge, or political purposes to serve.

Still the religious motive has too often been the guiding and decisive one in the mind of the murderer; and, I conceive, if we condemn religious murders, it must be on one of the three following grounds. Either that the Deity disapproves of all religious murders; or that He disapproved of the special murder under consideration; or that the assassin was mistaken in his view of his victim's attitude towards the Deity.

Having considered the more or less plausible motives in obedience to which assassinations have been committed in the past, let us consider one great and *primâ facie* objection popularly urged against murder, committed on any person and in any cause—an objection which, if only it were valid, would go far towards deciding the problem before us this evening. The objection, with which, in more or less rhetorical

form, we are all familiar, is that 'murder is always a mistake,' that is, as I understand it, that, viewed as a means to a political end, it must either fail, or, at least, cause the end to be obtained at a disproportionate sacrifice. But is this true? Does not history, as a matter of fact, tell us of a number of murders which have fulfilled the expectations of their perpetrators; and does it not tell us of attempted murders which, if successful, would have altered the subsequent course of events?

Take a few instances.

The murder of the leaders of the Philo-Spartan party by Pelopidas and his companions. This assassination decided, and was in Grote's opinion essential to, the success of the Theban patriots. And that success was complete and enduring: the Theban traitors were crushed, the foreign garrison expelled from the Cadmeia, and the struggle commenced which resulted in reducing Sparta to a state of powerlessness north of the Isthmus.

The murder of Bardas Phokas. This is a case of absolutely dramatic expediency. No one who has ever opened Finlay can forget the picture he draws of the imperial and rebel armies set over against each other in battle array; of how Bardas, the successful general and mighty fighter, rode out in advance of his men, eager to strike at his Sovereign's person with the mace which had once before literally turned the scale of victory; and then—the great traitor died, a death too opportune to be natural, his army dispersed without striking a blow, and the civil war was over.

The history of Italy, again, furnishes so many cases of successful and repaying murders that it is difficult to select any one of them as a specially good example. It is probable, indeed, that, had the question been gravely put to one of her keen practical mediæval statesmen as to whether he held that murder might assist a cause or serve a party, it would have taxed his courtesy and self-restraint not to smile at the simplicity of the enquirer.

The political results of the murder of 'William the Silent' are thus summed up by Motley:—

'Philip and Granville were right in their estimate of the advantages to be derived from the Prince's death, in believing that an assassin's hand could do more than all the wiles which Spanish or Italian statesmanship could teach, or all the armies which Spain or Italy could muster. . . . His (William's) life gave existence to an independent country, his death defined its limits.

'Had he lived twenty years longer, it is probable that the seven provinces would have been seventeen; and that the Spanish title would have been for ever extinguished both in Nether Germany and Celtic Gaul.'

And, if Motley is right, or anything like right, in his view of the effect of the one blow successfully dealt against one of the three great enemies of Spain and intolerance, what would have been the effect if the other blows, aimed, roughly speaking, about the same time, had also been driven home? If, while the Dutch were weakened by the loss of their 'Father William,' the French Huguenots had been deprived of the chief whose birth and talents alone kept their party together, and England of the great and good Queen who had nursed her resources, roused her spirit, and, in spite of mutual wrongs and theoretical antagonisms, rallied a united people round her Throne? It would be too ridiculous to express a decided opinion as to what would have happened, if other things, which did not happen, had happened. But it is hard to see how any man, except Henry of Navarre, could have saved France from Spain and the Holy Catholic League, or how England, deprived of her great ruler and torn by factions—divided, it might have been, literally into opposing camps—could have triumphed over the Armada.

The murder of Henry, Duke of Guise. It is true that the monarch who ordered that assassination perished by a retaliation he had provoked; but the Monarchy triumphed over the League, and over the factious House of Lorraine. And was not this triumph due to the fortunate death of Guise, who, if he was not the great man he thought himself, was at least a much greater one than the chief who tried to take his place—

Mayenne, a fat, inoffensive gentleman of limited abilities and questionable courage? Yet, even under Mayenne, the League was able to press the Royalists hard: what, then, might it not have accomplished if its forces had been led by Guise, the conqueror of Calais, the victor of Dreux, the idol of Paris and the army, the first knight in France, a general of good abilities and great prestige, and a soldier equal in dash and personal daring to the King of Navarre himself?

The murder of Wallenstein. This assassination, it will hardly be disputed, saved the Emperor Ferdinand from the irreconcilable enmity of a man whose mighty fame, military skill, great civil abilities, and unique reputation would probably have ensured the downfall of the House of Austria.

The murder of the De Witts. This crime secured, as we may assume it was designed to do, the triumph of the Orange party in the Netherlands. Had John de Witt lived, who can say that his great name, great talents, and many virtues would not have ultimately secured the downfall of the young Prince of Orange? And, however we may blame and regret the assassination of two noble and innocent men, we shall, if admitting that there was no room in Holland for both John de Witt and the Stadtholder, have little doubt as to which of them the Netherlands and Europe could best afford to lose.

The murder of Gustavus III. of Sweden. This atrocious crime seems to have changed, as nothing else would have been likely to change, the whole policy of the Swedish Crown.

The murder of the Emperor Paul of Russia. Alison's summing up of the effect of this is, if exaggerated in language, not, it seems, materially incorrect:—

'An event took place within the palace of St. Petersburg which at once dissolved the Northern Confederacy, defeated the sanguine hopes of Napoleon, and changed the face of the world.' The success of the Emperor's murderers did undeniably bring about the fulfilment of their expectations; and, while rightly condemning the crime, we, as Englishmen, must rejoice at its timely accomplishment.

The murder of Marshal Liniers. By this assassination the

Argentine rebels freed themselves finally from a most dangerous enemy. Liniers, the greatest soldier in the country, the 'Reconquistador,' who had twice saved Buenosaires from the British, could neither be defied with impunity nor imprisoned with safety; if, like the gallant gentleman he was, he declined to be bribed or intimidated into treason to the King he served, then 'stone-dead had no fellow.'

Does not, in fact, the history of political murders prove that there are no exceptions to the crimes which men may do, and prosper in consequence of doing? Of course it may be argued, that every murder, and perhaps more especially every political murder, exercises an indirectly injurious influence on the happiness of the human race; but the argument assumes, either what is the very point to be determined—that political assassination is always a sin—or it assumes that the direct results obtained by the assassination of some person, even if beneficial in themselves, will be outweighed by the indirect evil done to the general morality.

But can this always be asserted?

Taking the world and man as they have been since the beginning of known history, we may indeed say it had been well if political murder had remained an unknown crime; but, as so many such murders have been committed, has it never been expedient that another should be added to the number?

In any case the utilitarian system of morals, on which such arguments are based, is one which, in the opinion of many of us, itself still remains to be proved.

There is also the religious objection to political assassination, of which it is enough to say that it rests on one of two grounds: namely, either that the Deity has expressly forbidden all murders without exception, or that He has forbidden the commission of all sins, and that political murder is a sin.

However this may be, there can be little doubt of one thing: murder is such an extreme remedy, and such an uncertain one, that we may well view with the severest scrutiny any person or party which has employed it; and, remembering the important fact, that the persons who are willing to take

life unlawfully and treacherously are not likely to be men of high morality or keen intellect, we may, when they appear before the bar of history, take the, generally speaking, unjudicial course of deciding every doubt against them.

And, after all, might it not be well to be guided in this matter by our 'modern sentiment of repugnance'? The social instinct which brands the assassin, from whatever motives, as an outcast from human sympathies may be a too sweeping prejudice; but is it not one which we should all of us be very sorry to see weakened?

THE TRADITIONS OF THE ARCHAIAN WHITE RACES.

By J. S. STUART GLENNIE, M.A.

(*Read* April 1887.)

'The dreams and falsehoods of the Rabbis of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and of Babylon found a fertile soil in the decaying world of the Greeks and Romans . . . In the reign of Constantine, Christian writers, from Eusebius the Bishop of Cæsarea downwards, began to enter into the domain of falsehood . . . And the nineteenth century has witnessed, together with immortal discoveries, the most senseless and shameless attempts to re-establish ancient and modern fraud, falsehood, and nonsense, and pass it off as Orthodoxy.'—VON BUNSEN, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv. pp. 396-7.

1. BY Archaian White Races I mean White Races non-Semitic and non-Aryan; and by White Races I mean Races with either long or short heads (dolichocephalic, or brachycephalic[1]), high noses, unprojecting jaws (orthognathic, not prognathic[2]), long hair and beards,[3] and light-coloured skins.[4]

[1] Where the transverse diameter is less than eight tenths the longitudinal, a skull is reckoned long; when more than eight tenths the longitudinal diameter, it is reckoned short. Skull-measurements are now made by Virchow's method. Negroes, it may be added, are generally, and the Esquimaux and Australians are always, long-headed; while the Mongolians, or 'Turanians,' are characteristically round-headed.

[2] Projecting jaws and their correlates, flattened noses, it need hardly be said, are distinctive characteristics of the Black Races.

[3] It was Bory de St. Vincent (*Essai Zoologique sur le Genre humain*) who first scientifically classified mankind, according as they had straight and wavy, or woolly and tufted hair, into two primary groups of *Leiotrichi* and *Ulotrichi*; and this principle of classification has been adopted by Huxley, Fr. Müller, and Haeckel. See also Hovelacque, *Races humaines*, and more particularly Pruner Bey, 'De la Chevelure,' *Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthrop.* t. ii.; and 'Human Hair as a Race Character,' (translation of above), *Anthrop. Rev.* Feb. 1864. I venture, however, to think that a true Classification of Races must take account of historical intermixtures no less than of anatomical features.

[4] Shades of skin-coloration are now distinguished by a scale introduced by Broca.

The existence of such Races is proved, as I trust to be able to show, by Traditional evidence, by Monumental evidence, and by Contemporary evidence. The very existence, however, of such a Stock of White Races has been, as yet, very partially, and their place in the history of Civilisation has been hitherto not at all, recognised by ethnologists.[1] And so far as the existence at least of such a Stock has been recognised, it has been designated by names such as Hamitic,[2] Kūshite,[3] Semito-Kūshite,[4] Caucasian,[5] Indo-European,[6] Allophyllian,[7] &c., to every one of which, as I venture to think, very strong objections may be urged. But the term *Archaian*, which I would propose, is, in the first place, regularly formed from the Greek Ἀρχαῖος, and may be thus compared, though, from its more general character, it is not likely to be confounded, with Achaian, from Ἀχαιός. Secondly, the term has thus far, at least, the authority of Aristotle that he calls

[1] The most complete account of these races, so far as I am aware, is to be found in the following works of De Quatrefages: *Les Polynésiens et leurs Migrations*, 1866; *Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Anthropologie en France*, 1867; and *Hommes fossiles et Hommes sauvages*, 1884. But even to M. de Quatrefages' treatment of the subject the statement in the text is, I venture to think, applicable.

[2] To the use of this term as the designation of a White Race, one sufficient objection is that it is now commonly used to designate the Black Race, though this was not so originally. *See below*, p. 315, n. 1.

[3] As Kūsh was but one of the many sons of Ham, the objections to the term Kūshite are even stronger than to Hamitic.

[4] This term, though applicable, like the term 'Anglo-Saxon,' to a certain limited time and locality, is just as false and misleading as is that term when used in a more general sense.

[5] The Georgians and Circassians of the Caucasus certainly belong to the non-Semitic and non-Aryan stock of White Races; but far too many other races who have never had any connection with the Caucasus belong to this race to justify our giving it such a local name; and, as will appear in the sequel, there are likewise other weighty objections to such a use of the term 'Caucasian.'

[6] I would submit that perversity in nomenclature could hardly much further go than in giving to a non-Aryan stock of White Races the name commonly used as a synonym for the Aryan stock.

[7] This term, which was employed by Pritchard, has been revived by De Quatrefages to designate the non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Races. But Ἀλλόφυλοι was used by Berossos and by the Septuagint with the meaning of 'other tribes' or 'foreigners.' And the objections to distinguishing the non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Races as simply 'other tribes' or 'foreigners' seem to be no less obvious than unanswerable.

the earlier philosophers Ἀρχαῖοι,[1] the 'Ancients,' or *Archaians*; and I now propose but to extend the use of the term to those 'Ancients' generally of the history of Civilisation, the White Races whose civilising action on the Coloured and Black Races preceded that of the Semites and Aryans. Thirdly, 'Archaian' no more associates the Stock it designates with any particular locality than the terms 'Semitic' and 'Aryan' associate the Races they respectively denote with any particular locality; and, considering the wide and, indeed, as we shall see, almost universal distribution of these non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Races, this is certainly an advantage. Fourthly, this term clearly connotes the most general facts that can as yet be affirmed with respect to these Races, namely, that the initiators of the First Civilisations belonged to this Stock of Races, and that to this day they exist in a more archaic state either of civilisation or of barbarism than any other White Races; nor is it, perhaps, improbable that the term may be further justified by our finding that these Archaian White Races are the Stock from which originated, through special ethnic intermixtures and other conditions, the Races speaking Semitic and Aryan languages, and which, by the intellectual reaction of these languages, were still further differentiated from the original Stock. And, finally, it is not certainly an unimportant advantage that such a term as Archaian goes well with the terms which may be considered as, notwithstanding all objections, the now established designations of the other two Stocks of White Races, the Semitic, and the Aryan.[2]

2. A discussion of the facts relating to the Archaian White

[1] See for Ἀρχαῖοι φιλόσοφοι, *De Cœlo*, A, 5; for Ἀρχαῖοι σοφοί, *Phys.* B, 4; and for Ἀρχαῖοι, *Phys.* A, 6, and 8; B, 2; *De Gen.* A, 1; *De Cœlo*, Δ, 3; *Meteorol.* Γ, 2; and *Metaph.* Λ, 1.

[2] Called also Indo-European, and Indo-Germanic. The latter term might have been excusable, while it was still uncertain whether the Kelts and Slavs belonged to the Aryan Stock of White Races. But to speak of Slavs and Kelts as Indo-Germans is now, considering not only its offensiveness but its falsity, unworthy of men of science; and is indeed only paralleled in falsity, if not in offensiveness, by the term 'Anglo Saxon' as a designation of the Anglo-Keltic, or Teuto-Keltic, Race of the British Islands, America, and Australasia.

Races falls naturally under three heads: (1) The facts as to the primitive Traditions of these Races, and particularly of the Ruling Classes of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, whom we shall find to have been the chief representatives of these Races in the past; (2) the facts as to the Distribution and Institutions of these Races both in the past and in the present; and (3) the facts as to the primitive Deities of these Races, and the influence of their mythology on other Races.[1] But as it seems desirable to give full references to authorities, and as my space is here limited, I propose to confine myself to the first division of my subject; though I may, in concluding the Paper, very briefly indicate the relations of the facts set forth to current theories. Confining myself, then, for the sake of space for verification, to a discussion of the facts as to the Primitive Traditions of the Archaian White Races, the divisions of this Paper will be determined by those of our Classification of these Primitive Traditions, considered as, of course, the Comparative Method requires that they should be considered, in relation to those of the other White Races —the Semites and the Aryans. Now, we shall find that the earliest traditions of each Stock of the White Races relate to subjects which are common to them all; that these traditions, therefore, may be generalised under common heads; and that they may be conveniently distinguished and considered as (1) Kinship-traditions; (2) Paradise-traditions; and (3) Settlement-traditions, which we shall find distinguishable as Foretime-, Deluge-, and Hero-traditions. In this Paper, therefore, I shall consider these Primitive Traditions in the order of this Classification. It will be evident, from the very names of the different classes of these traditions, that they are all traditions of the origin of Civilisation. We shall find that the earlier Semitic and Aryan are, for the most part, but variants of the Archaian Primitive Traditions; and as these

[1] In the paper read before the Royal Historical Society on April 21, 1887, as in that read at the meeting of the British Association at Manchester on September 1 of that year, the subject was discussed under all these three heads, but necessarily in a very summary manner.

are traditions of the Initiators of Civilisation, it may reasonably, perhaps, be conjectured that they will be found to have the most important bearing on those *theories* of the origin of Civilisation which have hitherto dispensed with anything like a scientific examination of these *traditions* of its origin.

3. But a scientific examination of the Primitive Traditions of the Archaian White Races implies, not only that they shall be compared with the Primitive Traditions of the other White Races, but that, in such a comparison, the results shall be accepted of the criticism both of the Hebrew Traditions, and of the conventional interpretations of these Traditions. In the sentences I have taken as motto for this Paper, these conventional interpretations have been truly characterised by my first Master in historical research, the most sincerely Christian author of 'Bible Records' and 'God in History,' as well as of 'Egypt's Place.' And as to the Hebrew Traditions themselves, I need here only remind the reader of those general results of research which are admitted by every competent critic, whether layman or cleric, and which may be thus briefly summarised.[1] The earliest and most general legends of *Genesis* are but variously redacted variants of traditions of which the sources, or at least the chief sources, are *not* Hebrew,[2] whilst it is questionable whether those of Chaldean origin did not come to the Hebrews only through the Phœnicians.[3] As to the so-called 'Books of Moses,' so far from even approaching, either in unity of authorship, or in antiquity of composition, to many Egyptian and Chaldean hieroglyphic and cuneiform documents, they are made up of four or five

[1] I have endeavoured to state these results in the most general and moderate way; but I would specially commend to students Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, translated by Messrs. Black and Menzies, and prefaced by the Rev. Prof. Robertson Smith.

[2] See G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*; and compare the corrected English edition by the Rev. Prof. Sayce, and German edition by Prof. Delitzsch. See also the latter's *Wo lag das Paradies?*

[3] 'There is no evidence,' says the Rev. Dr. Robertson Smith, 'that the Babylonian element in the traditions of *Genesis* reached the Hebrews through the Arameans of Harran rather than through the Phœnicians.' See *Historical Review*, January 1888, p. 127.

different elements, distinguished as Yahvist, Elohist, Deuteronomist, and Priestly, as to the variety of the dates of which there is no question, and a question only as to their relative dates, and whether the last may not be even post-exilic—that is to say, so late as the end of the sixth century B.C.[1] And not only were there great literatures in Egypt and Chaldea while the Hebrews were still in their nomad age, and during —nay, centuries, and even millenniums, before—their servitude in Egypt;[2] but a recent discovery,[3] which, as the Rev. Professor Sayce remarks, 'must have the most important bearing on Biblical criticism,'[4] has shown, in an almost startling way, the immense development of civilisation, and particularly of its accompaniment, literary correspondence, not only in Chaldea and in Egypt, but in Canaan, more than a century before the commonly accepted dates of the

[1] Hence, though M. Renan (*Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*) maintains that there was really some such Patriarchal Age as is pictured in Genesis before the servitude in Egypt, so respectable an authority as the Rev. Professor Robertson Smith criticising M. Renan's work in the just-cited *Historical Review*, edited by the Rev. Professor Creighton, points out (p. 129) that to imagine that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob roamed at large through Palestine, as represented in *Genesis* (chaps. xii. to xxxv.), 'though they were aliens from their own kin, and had not become the protected dependents of another kin,' is to suppose a 'standing miracle'; hence, that, if the supernatural explanation is given up, the whole notion of a Patriarchal Age falls to the ground; and, finally, that the true nomad age of the Hebrews was of the wildest and rudest type, while the picture of it in *Genesis* was idealised quite unhistorically from the life of a great flockmaster in the time of David and his successors, the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.

[2] There was already in the age of the builders of the pyramids (4500 B.C.–3500 B.C.) a developed literature; and one of the tombs at Gizeh is that of a royal librarian of the Sixth Dynasty. See Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, t. ii. pp. 33, 87.

[3] At Tell-el-Amarna, the site of the capital of Amenophis IV. of the Eighteenth Dynasty (sixteenth century B.C.), a great number of clay tablets were picked up by fellahîn last year, and these have been found to be despatches to the third and fourth Pharaohs of that name, in the cuneiform script, and Assyrian language, from the Egyptian provinces and protectorates in Syria and Mesopotamia. See 'Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna,' in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. P. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Bd. xxiii. SS. 583–9 (May 1888); Sayce, 'Babylonian Tablets from Tel-el-Amarna,' *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. x. pp. 488–525 (June 1888); and Budge, 'On Cuneiform Despatches from Tushratta, &c., to Amenophis III.,' *ibid.* pp. 540–569.

[4] *Contemporary Review*, August 1888, 'Recent Oriental Discovery,' p. 300.

exodus from Egypt, and the invasion of Canaan by the rude Hebrew tribes. Finally, I would point out what is too often forgotten, that the 'Books of Moses' can, as to form, literary, moral, and theological, be justly compared, not with Sacred Books composed millenniums before the Hebrew Scriptures, but only with the literatures contemporary with the Pentateuch, or rather Hexateuch, *when it first assumed its present shape*—that is to say, with the other literatures bearing the impress of that great Moral Revolution under the influence of which the Hexateuch was finally redacted, that great Moral Revolution of the Sixth Century B.C. which extended throughout all the countries of civilisation from the Hoang-ho and the Ganges to the Nile and the Tiber.[1] And now let us

[1] As I was the first to point out, and as I have again and again shown during the last fifteen years, the sixth century B.C.—more accurately the sixth-fifth century B.C. (550–450 B.C.)—is the true epoch of division between the Ancient and Modern Civilisations. The sixth-fifth century before Christ was the century of Confucius in China; of Buddha in India; of Gomates and Zoroastrianism as a political power in Persia; of the Babylonian Captivity (588 536); the so-called second Isaiah and the triumph of Yahvehism, in Judæa; of Psammetichus, its last Pharaoh, and of the worship of Isis and Horus, the divine Mother and Child, rather than of 'Our Father,' Osiris, in Egypt; of Thales, the Father of Philosophy; of Pythagóras and Xenophánes, the fathers also of Religious and Ethical Reform; and of Sappho and Alkaios, the first of the new subjective and lyric school of Poetry in Greece; and finally, in this rapid indication of its greater synchronisms, it was the century of that Persian world-empire of Kyros which, followed as it was by the Greek world-empire of Alexander, and the Roman world-empire of Cæsar, established henceforth Aryan domination; it was the century in which Europe and Asia first appear as clearly differentiated; and it was the century of those political changes from Monarchies to Republics which were but the outward sign and seal of far profounder economic changes both in Greece and at Rome. The dates of the birth of Confucius vary only between 551 and 550 B.C. As to the date of Buddha see the *Academy* of March 1, 1884, in which Professor Max Müller gives new proofs of the date of his death being 478–7 B.C.; and compare Mr. Müller's discussion of the date of Chandragupta, the basis of Indian chronology, in his *History of Sanscrit Literature*, pp. 242–300, and Rhys Davids's 'Discussion of the Ceylon Date of the Buddha's Death,' in *The International Numismata Orientalia*, p. 56. As to Zoroaster, or at least Zoroastrianism, see, for a refutation of the theories which place its origin as far back as 1500 B.C., or even 1800 B.C., De Harlez, *Origines du Zoroastrisme*, 1882, and *Avesta*, Introduction, 1884. And as to the other synchronisms see, for instance, Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, Bd. ii.; Goldzicher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*; Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology*; Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, *First Period*; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 505, note; and F. de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*.

proceed, without further preliminary remark, to a comparative examination of the Archaian Traditions of the origin of Civilisation.

I. The Kinship-Traditions.

1. The Archaian (Egyptian and Chaldean), Semitic, and Aryan Races possess Kinship-traditions that singularly correspond in their trifold forms, and may be summarily represented in the following parallel columns:—

I. ARCHAIAN.

Egyptian.[1]	Chaldean.[2]	
(hieroglyphics.)	(berossos.)	(moses of khor'ni (?).)
1. Rotou.	1. Kronos.	1. Zerovan.
2. Amou.	2. Titan.	2. Titan.
3. Tamáhou.	3. Promethévs.	3. Yapedosthé.

[1] See Lieblein, 'Les quatre Races dans le ciel inférieur des Egyptiens,' *Musée Guimet*, t. x. (1888), pp. 545–52; Lefébure, 'Les Races connues des Egyptiens,' *ibid* t. i. (1880), pp. 60–76; and 'Les quatre Races au Jugement dernier,' *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, vol. iv. pp. 44–48; Brugsch, 'Die altägyptische Völkertafel,' *Verhandl. des fünften internat. Orientalisten-Congresses* (1881), 2, SS. 25–79; and *Geograph. Inschrift.*, Bd. ii. SS. 89, 91; and compare Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité hist.*, chap. iv. pp. 92, &c.; and Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. p. 204.

[2] The cuneiform original of the Chaldean tradition of the three semi-divine Brothers who reigned after the Flood has not yet been discovered. That tradition we know as yet only in very late forms. The first of these is the version given in one of the Fragments of the Χαλδαϊκά of the priest Berossós, writing in Greek in the century of Alexander the Great (fourth century B.C.), and hence using what he believed to be the best Greek equivalents for the Chaldean names of the Brothers. See M. C. Müller, *Frag. Histor. Græc.*, t. ii.; Richter, *Berosi quæ supersunt*; Lenormant, *Commentaire des Fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*. The second form of the tradition in point of date is that given by an Alexandrian Jew of the second century B.C., in the most ancient part of Book iii. of the so-called 'Sibylline Oracles.' But his list of the three Brothers differs from that of Berossós only in substituting Iapetos for Promethévs. See Alexandre, *Oracula Sibyllina*, t. ii. The third form of the tradition is that given by the Armenian historian of the seventh century A.C. who, according to Professor von Gutschmid ('Glaubwürdigkeit d. Armenischen Geschichte,' *Berichte d. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissensch.* 1876), was the author of the *History* and the *Geography* attributed to Moses of Khor'ni of the fifth century A.C. But the Iranian form of the names he gives to the three Brothers shows that his source was not a Greek text directly extracted from Berossós, but a version of the tradition to which currency had been given by the learned school of Edessa, to which belonged, in the second century A.C., Mar-

II. SEMITIC.		III. ARYAN.	
HEBREW.[1]	MENDAITE.[2]	IRANIAN.[3]	PERSIAN.[4]
2. Ham.	2. Yamen.	2. Toura.	2. Tour.
1. Shem.	1. Schoum.	3. Sairima.	3. Selm.
3. Yapheth.	3. Yapheth.	1. Airya.	1. Eradj.

The figures attached to the Races indicate the rank of each according to the notions of the people making the classification; each people, of course, putting its own Race in the first rank; but Semites and Aryans agreeing, it will be observed, in severally ranking the non-Semitic and non-Aryan Race next to themselves. The linear succession of the Races, as I have above arranged them, indicates at once what I take to be equivalent names, and the order of the historical predominance of the Races thus designated—an order, it will be remarked, which accords with that dictated by national vanity only in the Egyptian and Chaldean columns. But several questions arise, first of all, with reference to the ethnological relations of the Egyptians and Chaldeans; and then, with respect to that equivalency of names which is implied by the order in which I have above indicated the respective Kinship-traditions of the Archaian, Semitic, and Aryan Races.

2. First as to the *Rotou*, the name by which the Egyptians designated themselves—does this name connote a non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Race? One may take it for granted that this question has been now conclusively answered in the affirmative by an ethnological examination of the ancient Egyptians themselves in their mummies, and of contemporary portraits of them in sculpture and fresco;[5]

Abbas Katina, whom the author of the *History* of Moses of Khor'ni made his guide for the earlier ages of Armenia. See *Hist. Armen.*, lib. i. c. 5, p. 16 (Ed. Whiston); p. 31 (Ed. Le Vaillant de Florival).

[1] See *Genesis*, v. 32; vii. 13; ix. 18; and x. 1.

[2] See Norberg, *Cod. Nasar.*, t. i. p. 96.

[3] See De Harlez, *Avesta*, Yescht xiii. 143. And for proof that the myth of the three Brothers belongs to the cycle of traditions antecedent to the first putting-together of the books of the *Zend-Avesta* (or rather *Avesta-Zend*) see t. iii. p. 4.

[4] See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. i. S. 554.

[5] 'The form of the skull, as well as the proportions of the several parts of the body, as these have been determined from examination of a great number of

as well as also by a philological examination of the language of the Egyptian inscriptions.[1] As to the Chaldeans,[2] if by that name I may distinguish the Kūshite[3] founders of that first Babylonian Empire which preceded the later Baby-

mummies, are held to indicate connection with the Caucasian Family of Mankind,' Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, v. i. p. 8. So Maspero: 'La race égyptienne se rattache aux peuples blancs de l'Asie antérieure par ses caractères ethnographiques,' *Hist. Ancienne*, p. 16. And see particularly Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, 'Einleitung,' in which he refutes the theory of the African origin of the Egyptians as advanced by Hartmann, *Die Völker Africa's*, S. 3 Flg. For reproductions of portraits see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Bd. vi.; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, Bd. ii.; and above all, the photographs by Mr. Flinders Petrie, *Racial Types from Egypt*, 1887.

[1] According to Lepsius, the Egyptian language indicates that the Egpytian Race belongs to a Stock unquestionably allied to both the Semitic and Aryan Stocks; and that to the same Family as the Egyptian belong the Languages of the Libyan tribes of North Africa. See his *Zwei sprachvergleichende Abhandlungen*; and also Schwartze, *Das alte Aegypten*; and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist.* With respect to the more special relationship of Egyptian to Semitic, see *pro*, Benfey, *Ueber das Verhält. der ägypt. Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamen*; E. Meier, *Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch*, 'Anhang;' Bottischer, *Wurzelforschungen*; De Rougé, *Sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmes*; and *contra*, Pott, Ewald, and Wearich, as cited by Renan in support of his own views, *Hist. de Langues Sémitiques*, l. i. ch. ii. § 4, p. 74.

[2] According to Lenormant, in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, the name, Chaldaei or Χαλδαῖοι, has had three significations. First, it signified the people called Kaldi in the cuneiform texts; the Kasdim of one of the oldest passages of *Genesis* (xi. 28), and the people whom Hellanicus counted among the primitive elements of the population of Chaldea. Then it meant the Sacerdotal Tribe or Caste, using still the otherwise dead language which was now variously called Accadian, Sumerian, and Accado-Sumerian; the Tribe or Caste which, on the downfall of the Assyrian Empire, gave again to Babylonia a Chaldean Dynasty, of which the most illustrious representatives were Nebopolassar and Nebuchodorossor, of whose Court we get interesting information in the *Book of Daniel*, late as is its date. Last of all, from the time of Alexander the Great, and particularly after the visit of the Chaldean priest and magus, as well as historian, Bérossos, to Athens—where a statue was officially erected to him in consequence of the impression he made there by his predictions and inventions; (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 37; and Quaranta, *L'orologio a sole di Berose scoperto in Pompeii* 1854) – the name Chaldean came to mean Prophet, Diviner, and Magician. But see E. Schrader, 'Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten,' in *Zeitsch. d. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, Bd. xxvii. (1873), S. 397 Flg. I venture, however, to dissent from his conclusion that there was no connection between the Chaldeans of the south and those later-mentioned Chaldeans of the north referred to by Xenophon and other classic writers. But the question will be better discussed in the Second Part of this Essay.

[3] *Genesis* x. 8–10.

lonian Empire of the Assyrians, and was contemporary with the first Egyptian Empire—as to the Chaldeans, the ethnological question is hardly as yet answered with such certainty as in the case of their great contemporaries of the Nile Valley. The Egyptians, however, in their most ancient frescoes, represent the Kūshites of the Euphrates Valley as a branch of their own ruddy-complexioned race.[1] And these Egyptian representations I venture to think that I shall be able, when treating of the Distribution of the Archaian White Races, conclusively to verify from the oldest Chaldean statues and reliefs of their Gods, Kings, and Heroes, and particularly of the first founder of their Empire, Nimrod, the son of Kūsh. For the clear indications, not only of primitive traditions, but of ancient portraitures, seem to have been hitherto obscured partly by the influence of old misconceptions;[2] partly by the implicit, if not explicit, but entirely unsound assumption that ethnological character is to be determined by philological research;[3] and partly by such misunderstandings as there appears to me to be in taking the epithet 'blackheaded,' to mean the *black-skinned*, 'Race of Accad.'[4] Surely this phrase rather means, as apparently in China,[5] the

[1] See Brugsch, 'Die altägypt.' Völkertafel,' in *Verhandl. Internat. Orientalisten Congresses*, v. 1881–2, Bd. ii. I. S. 76: 'Die Denkmäler zeigen uns in dunkelrother Hautfärbung (1) die Aegypter, (2) *die Kuschiten*, (3) die Puntier, (4) die χαρ oder Phönizier;' and compare the same author's *Geograph. Inschriften*, Bd. ii. S. 89: 'Dieselbe rothbraune Farbe findet sich, den Denkmäler zufolge, auch bei . . . den Bewohnern *Naharuna's* oder Mesopotamiens.'

[2] And particularly as to the original meaning of the terms *Ham* and *Toura*, which, as I shall presently endeavour to show, were really the Semitic and Aryan designations respectively of the Archaian Races, the chief of which, themselves, the Egyptians designated *Rotou*.

[3] For even if it were admitted that the Accadian, the language of the inscriptions of the pre-Semitic Old Chaldean Empire, belongs to the family of languages spoken by those races of Central and Northern Asia now called 'Turanian,' it would by no means follow that the initiators of the Chaldean Civilisation spoke a language of 'Turanian' character because they were 'Turanians' in the modern sense, and not simply because their own language, possibly allied, like their race, to the Egyptian, was influenced in the 'Turanian' direction by their Coloured and Black subjects.

[4] As by Professor Sayce in Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 81–3.

[5] See De Lacouperie, 'The Shifted Cardinal Points from Elam to Early China,' in *Bab. and Or. Record*, v. ii. pp. 25 and 31.

race with heads of dark hair, and hence, according to popular belief,[1] the strong and vigorous race—and this especially as beards are a distinctive characteristic of the White Races, and the monuments show a luxuriant development of the hair, not only of the head, but of the face, in the portraitures referred to.

3. But assuming, in the meantime, what I hope, in the Second Part of this Essay, to prove—assuming that the founders of the Chaldean, were, like those of the Egyptian Civilisation, a non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Race, there arises the question as to whether the first names in the Chaldean Tradition, as given respectively by Bérossos, the Jew of the Sibylline Oracles, and Moses of Khor'ni (?), indicate the Archaian Race of the Chaldeans, or the Semitic Races. The question has been discussed at great length by M. F. Lenormant.[2] But as the names of the original Chaldean tradition can be, as yet, only conjectured,[3] it appears sufficient here to say that if, as M. Lenormant maintains, the Kronos of Berossos, and the Alexandrian Jew, and the Zerovan of Moses of Khor'ni are to be considered as representing, not the Chaldeans, but the Semites, then certainly Berossos did not even attempt to give us the genuine Chaldean Kinship-tradition, but only the Assyrian,—that is to say, a Semitic version of the myth. For it is in the highest degree improbable that the Chaldeans, unlike every other people, would, in their ethnological myths, have given precedence to a rival people. And if we assume that Kronos (Κρόνος)—to which the notion of antiquity was early attached from its resemblance to Chronos (Χρόνος)—and Zerovan—to which a similar notion was attached from its identity with *Zarvan* (Time)—if we assume that Kronos and Zerovan indicate the unquestionably elder race, in point of historical predominance, the myth of the war between Kronos-Zerovan and Titan would accurately represent the

[1] As expressed, for instance, in the proverb, 'A hairy man 's a happy man, a hairy wife 's a witch.'

[2] *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. 1re partie, pp. 206-239.

[3] See below, § 8, pp. 322, 323.

long-continued historical rivalry which ended at length with the overthrow, by the Semites, of Chaldean supremacy.

4. So much for the Chaldean equivalents of *Rotou*. Let us now consider what I have, in the above parallel columns, indicated as the Semitic and Aryan equivalents of the name given by the Egyptians to the Archaian White Races as represented by themselves. First, then, as to Ham. According to the natural interpretation of the Biblical statement of these ethnological traditions, Ham, who is represented as the *brother* of Shem and Yapheth, the patriarch of two different stocks of the White Variety of mankind, was certainly the Patriarch of a third stock of the same Variety.[1] And this natural interpretation of the text is corroborated by the proved correspondence of 'the sons of Ham—Kūsh, and Mizraim, and Phūt and Canaan'—with the races which, in the Egyptian ethnographical traditions, are represented as branches, though of course inferior branches, of the supreme race of the Rotou. Kūsh is identical with the Egyptian Kesh, who, as we have already seen, were, in the most ancient frescoes, represented by the Egyptians as a branch of their own ruddy-complexioned race.[2] Mizraim, a plural noun from the Assyrian

[1] With respect to the origin of the notion that the Hamitic Races were Negroes, the following remarks may here suffice. The curse, not on the irreverent Ham but on one of his sons (*Genesis* ix. 22)—the curse which Burns (*The Ordination*, s. iv.) so wittily ridicules:

> How graceless Ham leugh at his dad,
> Which made Canaan a nigger

(not the culprit Ham)—this curse was recorded with the evident purpose, on the redaction of these old traditions, of giving a sort of justification to the atrocities of the Israelitish conquest of the Kanaanites. This moral blackening of Ham prepared the Church for a theory that physically blackened the Hamitic Races. And, owing to the results of millenniums of intermixture, the name of Kūsh, the eldest son of Ham, was already, in the Egyptian ethnography of the Ptolemaic Period, applied to Negroes, though this was contrary to the system of the nineteenth and eighteenth Dynasties. Compare Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique*, p. 97, and Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. 1re partie, pp. 202–3 n.

[2] See above, p. 313, n. 1, and compare Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, t. i. p. 266 and n. 2: 'L'identité de la race de *Kousch* et des Ethiopiens est certaine; les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'Egypte désignant toujours les peuples du Haut-Nil, au sud de la Nubie, sous le nom de *Kousch*. Ces habitants *non-*

Musri, denotes Upper and Lower Egypt, while Mazor, its singular form, denotes Lower Egypt, as distinct from Pathros, or Upper Egypt;[1] and the sons of Mizraim, beginning with Loudim, the Hebrew equivalent of the Egyptian *Lot* or *Rot*[2] (*Rotou*), may be identified with higher and lower tribes of the Egyptians.[3] As to Phūt or Pūt, it seems to be identical both with the Egyptian Pūnt, to the south-east of Egypt, and with Phaiat, the name given by the Copts, and Pūtiya, the name given by the Persians to Libya, on the north-west of Egypt;[4] Phūt is also called Libya by the Septuagint,[5] and Pliny[6] mentions a river Phūt in Libya. And, finally, Kenaan, the 'Lowlands,' though applied by Isaiah[7] to Phœnicia, and by Zephaniah[8] to Philistia, is said in Genesis[9] to extend from the torrent of Mizraim to the river Phrath (Euphrates); is thus identical with the Akkadian *Kur-Martu* and *Mat Aharri*, the 'West Country,' and was certainly inhabited by White Races, non-Semitic, and non-Aryan.[10]

5. Then as to Toura. The result of closer investigation appears to be that Toura is no less improperly held to be synonymous in the *Avesta* with Turanians, in the modern sense of the term, than Ham is held to be synonymous with Negroes. For not only does Toura appear to be derived from a word signifying 'of noble race,' but in the Iranian traditions, bitter as the wars between Airya and Toura are represented to have been, they are still represented as wars between brothers, and these so-called Turanians, or barbarians of Central Asia, in our modern sense of the term, are repre-

nègres du pays de Kousch, ou de l'Ethiopie nilotique, sont représentés sur les monuments exactement *avec les mêmes traits que* les Egyptiens.'

[1] *Isaiah* xi. 11.

[2] In Egyptian, *l* took the place of *r*, and *r* of *l* very easily.

[3] See Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.*, t. i. pp. 269–71.

[4] Compare Lenormant as above cited, pp. 271–2, and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, v. ii. p. 404.

[5] *Ezekiel* xxvii. 10.

[6] *Hist. Nat.*, v. 1.

[7] xxiii. 1.

[8] ii. 5. Compare *Joshua* xi. 2, &c.

[9] xv. 18.

[10] See particularly Sayce, 'The White Race of Ancient Palestine,' in the *Expositor*, July 1888, pp. 48–57, and also in *Nature* of the same month.

sented as possessed of walled towns and castles, no less, if not more, splendid than those of the Aryans.[1] And this is entirely in accordance with the topographically as well as traditionally indicated distribution of Kūsh, a branch, as we have seen, of the Rotou, in the Egyptian traditions, and, in the Hebrew traditions, a son of Ham. In the old Sanscrit Geography, Kusa includes the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea.[2] And the Armenian Geography of the seventh century A.C. attributed to Moses of Khor'ni, of the fifth,[3] gives Media the name Chusti-Cupcochia; Elymais that of Chusti-Chorasania; Persia that of Chusti-Nemrozia; and Aria that again of Chusti-Chorasania; thus giving the name of Kūsh or Ethiopia to the whole territory between the Indus and the Tigris.[4] The name of Kephenes, in the Greek tradition, is certainly a synonym of that of Kūsh, and is always applied to the same populations from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus.[5] The cuneiform texts mention the Kussi or Kassu in the north-west of Elam, and with these Kussi correspond the Kisseans of Classical Geography, which also places in the north of Susiana the Kosseans.[6] The name also of Kusan for Beloochistan throughout the Sassanian period, and the Kush of Hindu-Kush, with the Kash of Kashmere, and Cutch of N.E. India, in their probable earlier forms, may all, to use the words of Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, 'be considered as so many landmarks left by the Kūshite Race.'[7] But the region thus proved to have been occupied by Kūshites, who, as we have just seen, were a non-Semitic and non-Aryan Race, allied both to the Egyptians and the Chaldeans—this

[1] See Geiger, *Civilisation of the Ancient Iranians*, p. 31.

[2] See Wilford, 'Geographical Systems of the Hindus,' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 296. See, however, as to Wilford's authority generally, Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, App. A., pp. 405–422.

[3] See above, p. 303, n. 2.

[4] *Geographia*, pp. 363–5 (Ed. Whiston).

[5] See Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, t. i. p. 268.

[6] See D'Eckstein, 'Les Ethiopiens de l'Asie,' in *Athen. Français*, 22 Août 1854; and compare 'Les Régions de Coush et de Chavilah,' *ib.* 27 Mai, and 'Les Origines de la Métallurgie,' *ib.* 18 Août.

[7] 'The Kushites: Who were they?' in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Dec. 1886, p. 26.

region occupied by Kūshites is identical with that occupied by the Toura of the Iranian traditions. And the proof would thus appear to be complete that the ancient Turanians were a White and civilising Race, very different, indeed, from the Coloured Races of Central Asian barbarians, to whom the name is now popularly applied.

6. But, indeed, generally with respect to Ham and Toura, as representatives of non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Races, it should be enough to remark that Ham is a son of Noah, the father of Shem ; and Toura a son of Thraetaona, the father of Airya. For, to imagine that either a Semitic or an Aryan ethnologist would have represented the Patriarch of the Coloured and Black Races as a brother of the Patriarch of his own White Race, is to attribute to men by whom they would have been utterly repudiated our own modern notions of equality and brotherhood—though, indeed, I should rather say *phrases*, these notions being still, for the most part, as utterly repudiated in practice, as they have ever been by the ruling White Races. To give a couple of illustrations of the genuine racial sentiments in ancient times both of Hebrews and of Aryans. Hebrew notions of other Races besides their own were thus expressed with characteristic coarseness:—'As for the other people, which also come of Adam, Thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle: and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop which falleth from a vessel.'[1] And, in a more dignified form, Aryan pride of birth was no less characteristically expressed in the famous inscription on the sepulchre of Dareios at Nakshi-Rustam, between Persepolis and Pasargadæ. *Adam Dáryavush, Khsháyathiya Vasarka . . . Vishtáspatiyá putra, Hakhámanishiya; Pársa, Pársahyá putra, Ariya, Ariya chitra.* 'I (am) Dareios, the Great King . . . the son of Hystaspes, an Achemenian, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan descent.'[2] And if at the late date of these passages

[1] 1–2 *Esdras* vi. 56. They may be come of Adam, but not of Noah.

[2] See Rawlinson, *Herodot.*, vol. iv. p. 255, and Rawlinson (Sir H.), *Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, v. i. p. 312.

when notions of equality were already beginning to gain utterance, racial pride was thus strongly expressed, it seems altogether unreasonable to suppose that, at the very early period of the origin of the ethnological myths in question, the White Races acknowledged brotherhood with the Black.

7. Next, as to the Chaldean, Semitic, and Aryan equivalents of the Races named by the Egyptians Amū and Tamahū. What the Egyptians meant by these names we are clearly informed by the monuments. The Amū were, for the Egyptians, the White Races of Western Asia, not more directly connected with themselves, like the Pūnites, Kūshites, and Phœnicians ;[1] and the Tamáhū, or, as they were also called, Hanebū, were the White Races of the northern islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, as also of the western coasts of Libya, where they are more especially named Tahennū.[2] Now, as to the Chaldean equivalent of the Egyptian Amu, our conclusion can be but a corollary of our solution of the question above noted[3] as to the racial significance of the names Kronos and Zerovan. In other words, whether the second brother, called Titan, in all the three forms of the tradition, as recorded by Bérossos, the 'Sibylline Oracles,' and Moses of Khor'ni—whether this second brother Titan is to be regarded as the equivalent of Amu, will depend on our previous conclusion with respect to the equivalency of Kronos-Zerovan. The name of the third brother differs, as we have seen, in all the three forms of the tradition. It is Promethévs in Bérossos; Iapetos in the 'Sibylline Oracles,' and Yapedosthe in Moses of Khor'ni. That, however, all these three are equivalents of each other will probably be readily admitted ; nor will it pro-

[1] See Brugsch, *Geograph. Inschr.*, Bd. ii. SS. 88-89. 'Ich möchte die *Aamu* der Denkmäler ursprunglich für gleichbedeutend halten mit den Ammonitern der H. S.' (S. 90).

[2] Tamáhū signifies 'Men of the North,' as also does Hanebū (ha = 'behind, and so, the north). Tahennū means clear- or bright-complexioned races. Compare Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. 1re partie, p. 201 ; Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique*, p. 174 ; Lefébure, *Musée Guimet*, t. i. p. 73 ; Ebers, *Egypten und die Bücher Moses*, S. 109 ; and Tomkins, 'On Mr. Flinders Petrie's Collection of Ethnographic Types,' *Trans. Anthrop. Institute*, 1888.

[3] § 3.

bably be seriously questioned that all three are equivalents of the Egyptian Tamahū? But whether Tamahū and its Chaldean equivalents originally signified, as generally imagined, the Northern White Race of Aryans may, I think, be seriously questioned. That, contrary to earlier custom, the term Tamahū, or at least Hanebū, was used, in the modern period of the Ptolemies, to denote Aryans, and indeed Greeks, we know;[1] and so also were its Chaldean equivalents. But three facts make it appear to me more than doubtful whether the third White Race of the Egyptian and Chaldean traditions was originally that which, in later times, we know as the Aryans.[2] These facts are—first, the extremely remote period to which certain results of recent research oblige us to carry back the beginnings of Egyptian and Chaldean civilisation,[3] and hence the origin of the Egyptian and Chaldean ethnological traditions; secondly, the comparatively very late ap-

[1] See Lenormant, *Origines*, t. iii. p. 22; and Chabas, *Etudes*, p. 174.

[2] I cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Flinders Petrie that 'there can be little hesitation in classing the Amorites as a fair race cognate with those of the Ægean, *and probably Aryan*' ('Ethnographic Casts from Egypt,' in *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, May 1888, p. 136). And still less can I agree with a writer in the *Historical Review*, April 1888, who confidently alludes (p. 293) to 'the irruption of the Aryans into Babylonia and Chaldea in 2300 B.C.' (!) As to the facts, see next page, n. 1.

[3] For instance, such facts with regard to Egypt as the discovery of the temple by the side of the Sphinx under the sands of the desert so early as the reign of Khūfū of the Fourth Dynasty (about 4000 B.C.), and its unknown antiquity even then, as recorded in contemporary inscription; such facts also as the existence, in the remote foretime to which that temple belongs, of hieroglyphic writing, as is specially mentioned, *on skins*; and such facts with regard to Chaldea as that, in the cuneiform inscriptions of 4000 B.C., it is already difficult or impossible to trace the original picture-hieroglyphics. See Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.*, t. ii. pp. 53, 55; and as to the last, De Lacouperie, 'The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivates,' in the *Bab. and Or. Record*, March 1888, p. 78; and compare Sayce, in *Nature*, June 7, 1888, or the *Bab. and Or. Record*. August 1888. 'The oldest characters,' says Professor De Lacouperie, 'belong to the hieratic stage, and indeed to a stage of hieratic rather remote from the hieroglyphic period.' And 'in the inscriptions of Telloh, *earlier* than the epoch of Sargon I. (3800 B.C.), the characters,' says Professor Sayce, 'have already become cuneatic, and not unfrequently have departed so widely from their primitive appearance as to make it impossible even to guess what they were primarily intended to represent.'

pearance on the historical arena of Aryans—that is to say, of Northern White Races speaking languages of the highly inflectional character distinctive of the race commonly called Aryan;[1] and thirdly, the certain existence, from a period antecedent to the historical appearance of the Aryans, of Northern White Races not speaking either Semitic or Aryan languages, and probably now represented by the Georgians and Circassians of the Caucasus.[2] And the general conclusion to be drawn from reflection on such facts as these appears to me to be that the three Races distinguished in the original ethnological traditions of Egypt and Chaldea were, first, the Southern White Races of connected Rotou, Pūnites, and Kūshites; secondly, the Syro-Arabian White Races, speaking what are now called Semitic languages, or rather, early forms of these languages, and constantly intruding on, and in the borderlands mixing with, the populations of the Rotou-Egyptian and Kūshite-Chaldean Empires; and thirdly, the Northern White Races, which, though as different from the Southern White Races as the Western were, in a much later age, from the Eastern Aryans, still belonged to the same Archaian White Stock, and seem, indeed, as the result of their invasions, to have established themselves as a consider-

[1] The Aryans, when we have our first definite historical knowledge of them, are on the east of the Caspian, between the Oxus and Jaxartes; and the migrations probably recorded in the *Avesta* (*First Fargard* of the *Vendidad*), all belong to Bactria, or more generally Iran, beyond the sphere of the Chaldean Empire, not to speak of the Egyptian. The very earliest date that can be assigned to these historical first movements of Aryans would seem to be from about 2000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. And, as proved by inscriptions, not till the end of the ninth century B.C. do Aryans appear on the borders of the Babylonian Empire. As to their first appearance in Phrygia, see 'Acad. des Inscrip.,' *Comptes Rendus*, 1888.

[2] Among the facts to which I here allude are such as these:—the association of the pig with the hosts of Typhon, the enemy of Osiris and of Horus, and the probability—as was suggested to me by Professor Ramsay in discussing with him the association of the pig with the worship of Demeter—the probability that this association of the pig with Typhon indicates a race from the North, where the pig is less injurious as food than in the South; the probability, as will be pointed out in discussing the *Foretime Traditions*, that the myth of Horus is in essentials the record of an actual war; and further, the variety of facts which connect certain peoples of Western Asia and of the northern coasts of the Mediterranean with the White Races of the Caucasus, facts which will be set forth in detail in the Second Part of this Essay, and one set of which I shall immediately indicate, p. 323, n. 2.

able element in the many-rooted civilisations mainly due to the initiative of their kindred of the Southern Branch.

8. With respect to the Greek names of the three Brothers of the Chaldean tradition, I venture also to think that they were adopted by Bérossos not merely on the principle, as M. Lenormant says, that each name 'pour les Grecs éveillât une notion conforme au rôle mythique du personnage,'[1] but more probably, perhaps, because the learned Chaldean priest knew these Greek names to be but Græcised forms of the original Chaldean names. No other Chaldean equivalent of Kronos save Ea, when Kronos is the name of a god, has, so far as I am aware, been as yet suggested. But Κρόνος has no meaning in Greek, and was only at a late period interpreted as Χρόνος.[2] As for Titan, however, M. Lenormant himself admits that he is 'assez séduit'[3] by the suggestion of Professor Sayce that Titan (Τιτάν) may be the Græcised form of Etana, the hero of one of the Chaldean legends of which the British Museum possesses cuneiform fragments which were translated by George Smith.[4] And it is to be noted that, though the name of Titan does not occur in the usually quoted lists of the Τιτᾶνες, yet in the list of Stephen of Byzantium[5] we find Adanus, a name almost identical with Etana. As to the Greek name of the third Brother, which the author of the Sibylline Verses gives as Iapetos (probably from having found this name, instead of Promethévs, in his copy of the Χαλδαϊκὰ of Bérossos), M. Lenormant points out that this name, and that of Yapedosthé, given by Moses of Khor'ni, together furnish 'des indices d'une incontestable

[1] *Origines*, t. ii. 1re P. p. 223.

[2] M. Lenormant's whole argumentation about the original name translated by Bérossos as Kronos, and by Moses of Khor'ni as Zerovan, appears to me to be vitiated by his arguing as if Κρόνος had been originally equivalent to Χρόνος; and as if Zerovan had not most probably been (as he himself points out that it probably was) introduced only about the time of the Sassanides, when Κρόνος had already long got assimilated with Χρόνος; and also by the postulate of the whole discussion, that 'Cronos-Zerovan est manifestement, dans le mythe babylonien, le correspondant du Shem biblique' (*Origines*, t. ii. 1re P. pp. 218–22, &c.).

[3] *Origines*, t. ii. 1re P. p. 229.

[4] *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 143–7.

[5] *Sub voce* Ἄδανα.

valeur pour faire penser que le nom de la tradition sacrée babylonienne devait être . . . Yaputu ou Yuputu'[1]—whence both the Hebrew Yapheth and the Greek Iapetos. To sum up: an unknown name Græcised into Kronos, with Etana and Yaputu, would appear to have not improbably been the original Chaldean equivalents of the Egyptian Rotū, Amū, and Tamahū; but Tamahū, the third Egyptian, and Yaputu, the third Chaldean name probably denoted originally, not Aryan, but Northern Archaian Races. That Shem (or Schūm) and Sairima (or Selm) are respectively the Semitic and Aryan equivalents of Amū will not be disputed. And further evidence of the truth of the above contention with respect to the earlier meaning of Tamahū and Iapetos, or Yaputu, appears to be afforded by the Semitic list of the descendants of Yapheth, who cannot all be identified with Aryan Races, and some of whom at least must certainly be identified with the non-Aryan White Races of the Caucasus.[2] That Airya is the Aryan equivalent of Tamahū and Iapetos or Yapūtū, will not be disputed; but, in accordance with the foregoing, I would contend that it is the equivalent of these ancient names only in their later signification.

9. But the great historical lesson to be learned from these Kinship-traditions will not be thoroughly brought home without a concluding remark. While the Archaians acknowledge a fraternal relationship with the Semites and the Aryans; while the Semites acknowledge such relationship with the Archaians under the name of Ham, and with the Aryans under the name of Yapheth; and while the Aryans acknowledge a fraternal relationship with the Archaians under the name of Toura, and with the Semites under the name of Sairima, neither Archaians, Semites, nor Aryans acknowledge relationship with any other Races whatever. The Negroes,

[1] *Origines*, t. ii. 1re P. p. 218; but compare p. 191.

[2] M. Lenormant (*Origines*, t. ii. 1re P.) admits that the Aryan etymologies hitherto proposed both for Magog and Madai, sons of Yapheth, cannot be maintained (pp. 466 and 500); and that Madai was peopled by the non-Aryan 'race des blancs allophyles du Caucase' (p. 474); but he still contends—against, as I think, serious objections—that the name Madai was first used by the Iranians to denote themselves (502), and hence that it denotes an Aryan people in *Gen.* x. 2.

indeed, under the name of Na'hasiū, are mentioned in the Egyptian ethnological traditions; but relationship with them is utterly repudiated—an entirely different origin being attributed to the Black from that assigned to the White Races.[1] So also it is in the Semitic, and particularly in the Hebrew ethnological traditions. The Hebrew traditions imply—as, for instance, in the legend of Cain[2]—that the Hebrews were from the very earliest time aware of, if not in contact with, Coloured and Black Races. But the Hebrews find no place for these other Races in their genealogies of descent from Adam, whose very name, indeed, testifies to his being the patriarch of a White Race. And so also it is in the Aryan traditions. As the name of the first man in the Hebrew traditions appears to signify 'Ruddy,' the name, or at least one of the names of the first man in the Aryan traditions, Menu, is connected with a root signifying 'mind, thought, intelligence.' And when the Aryans first, so far as we definitely know, came in contact with Coloured and Black Races, namely, on descent into the Indian valleys, they did not give these Races the name of Man at all, but referred to them only as 'living beings.' Our general conclusion, therefore, from a comparative study of those Kinship-traditions which are usually referred to as Primitive Traditions of *Mankind*—our first conclusion must, I think, be that they are only Primitive Traditions of the White Races; and further, that these Traditions testify to the existence, from the first origin of Tradition, of Higher and Lower Races. How important this fact is—corroborated as we shall find it to be by those Traditions which I have classed under the head of Settlement-traditions—how important this fact is for any scientific theory of the origin of Civilisation, I shall point out in the concluding section of this Paper. But we have next to consider those Paradise-traditions which we shall find to be, in fact, but Traditions of the earlier homes of the White Races, or rather, of that eldest or Archaian Branch of these Races, the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations.

[1] See the references, n. 1, § 1 of this Section.

[2] *Genesis* iv. 16.

II. The Paradise-Traditions.

1. First then, as to the Egyptian Paradise-Traditions. The land of Khemi, *Khemi-t*, the 'Black Land' of their historically-occupied Nile Valley, distinguished from all other lands by its exuberant fertility,[1] was not for the Egyptians—by which name, of course, I here always mean the ruling White Race of Egypt—their original home. They had two traditions of a pre-historically occupied land: the one, a completely verifiable tradition of a *To-nutar*, or Holy Land in the South, or rather South-East; and the other, a more mythological but still, I think, *partially* verifiable tradition of a *To-nutar-t-mahti*, or Holy Land in the North. The former of these Paradise-Traditions, or Traditions of a Primæval Home, is verified by such facts as the following: The Land of Pūnt, the land usually referred to in the inscriptions as *To-nutar*, or the Holy Land, has been clearly identified with the South-Eastern Highlands on either side of the Red Sea by the identification of numerous Pūnite localities with places still found with but slightly altered names in that region.[2] The chiefs of Pūnt are represented on the monuments with the same type of face and tint of skin as the Egyptians themselves,[3] and 'the beards of the Pūnite *noblesse* are those traditionally assigned in Egypt to the Gods.'[4] 'The principal and highest divinities, the God of Light, Ra (also in his Theban form as Amen), and the cosmic Goddess Hathor, are always, in the inscriptions of both

[1] Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, 33. *Kem* or *Kam*, which in Coptic or Modern Egyptian is *Kame*, means 'black.' And *Khemi-t*, the 'Black Land,' signified the Land of the deep rich soil, or loam, as distinguished from *Teschr*, the 'Red Land—Libya,' so called by Herodotos, as also Palestine and Syria, of which the soil is more or less mixed either with sand or gravel. Compare Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*, Bd. ii. S. 17; Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Ant. Hist.*; and Herodot. ii. 12.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 'Additions and Notes,' vol. ii. pp. 463–4.

[3] Compare Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, Bd. ii. S. 37; and *Astronom. u. Astrolog. Inschriften*, S. 176.

[4] See Tomkins, 'Remarks on Mr. Flinders Petrie's Ethnographic Types from Egypt,' *Trans. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1888.

the older and later monuments, placed in connection with the primitive cradle, and their arrival thence in Egypt is frequently and plainly referred to. A special form of the God of Light, the Horus of Apollinopolis Magna, appears in the heaven under his name Had, as at once the morning and the evening star, and his rising and setting are referred, not to Egypt, but to the Primæval Home of the Egyptians, the Land of P-un.' And the frequent mention on the monuments of the Land of God, *i e.* of Ra, and of P-un has the greater significance from the fact that 'the texts frequently strike the key of a yearning homesickness, and glorify the East, the cradle of light and of their own childhood, as a land of perfect happiness.'[1] Further, to this day, the Somali, the present inhabitants of the Arabian-African region of Pūnt as above defined, have features 'straight, good, and regular,' and such as appear distinctly to connect them with the former Pūnite inhabitants of 'Araby the Blest.'[2] And such facts as these are but illustrations of an immense consilience of evidence verifying this tradition of a Primæval Land in the South as a true reminiscence of the home from which came the original White Conquerors of Egypt.[3]

2. But unquestionable as it may be that a certain class of texts indicate a tradition of a Primæval Home in the South, it is hardly less unquestionable that another class of texts indicate a tradition of a Primæval Home in the North; and indeed, if, as maintained by M. Maspero, the Egyptians divided the cardinal points into two groups, North-East and South-West, what we may take for a reference to the *To-nutar* in Arabia may sometimes really be a reference to the *To-nutar* in the North. The texts to which I allude, as affording

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 'Additions and Notes,' vol. ii. pp. 463–4.

[2] See Tomkins, as above cited; F. Petrie, *Racial Types from Egypt*, 1887; and Haig, 'Journey through Yemen,' *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, August 1887. See also Burton (Sir R.), *First Footsteps in East Africa* (1863), and James, *The Horn of Africa* (1888). For, though no one would guess it from their titles, these books are narratives of *Travel in Somali-land.*

[3] The further evidence which I more particularly refer to is that derived from the distribution of the Archaian White Races.

indications of a tradition of a Primæval Home in the North, are such as these: texts in which a *To-nutar-t-mahti*, translated by Brugsch *das nördliche Gottesland*, 'the Northern Land of God,' is explicitly named;[1] texts in which we are told of the 'Four Supports of Heaven in the North,'[2] by which, as Brugsch[3] thinks most probable, there was meant a high northern mountain characterised by four peaks, or which consisted of four ranges, and which has its antipodes in a high southern mountain called *Ap-en-to* or *Tap-en-to*, the 'Horn of the World;'[4] texts in which it is said of the Wind from the North that it proceeds from the nostrils of Khnūm, and enlivens all creatures,[5] and in which it is declared that the Blessed Dead breathe the delicious air of the north wind;[6] texts in which the 'Fields of Peace' are referred to as in the North;[7] in which it is hymned of God that

> He createth all works therein,
> All writings, all sacred words,
> All his implements *in the North*;

and again,

> Thy law is established in the whole land,
> In the presence of thy servants *in the North*.[8]

But as the good gods were thus represented as belonging to the North, the evil gods and demons seem to have been more especially connected with the South.[9] Nor is the connection of Set with the Great Bear really a contradiction of this general statement.[10] For 'it was not till the decline of the

[1] Brugsch, *Astronom. u. Astrolog. Inschriften*, S. 176.

[2] 'Als die äusserste Grenze im Norden . . . "die vier Stützen des Himmels."' Brugsch, *Geog. Inschriften*, Bd. ii. S. 35.

[3] As above cited.

[4] 'Als die äusserste Grenze im Süden galt den Egypten das Meer (*Sar*) und der Berg *Ap-en-to* oder *Tap-en-to*, wörtlich "das Horn der Welt."' Brugsch as above cited.

[5] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 67.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 3, and Birch, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 170, 311, 312.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 122.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 101.

[9] Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, t. ii. p. 836.

[10] Brugsch, *Astronom. Inschriften*, pp. 82–4, 121–3.

Empire that this deity came to be regarded as an evil deity.'[1] Significant also is the North Polar direction of the concealed sloping passages to the secret chambers of the Pyramids.[2] Further, as in the Paradise-Traditions presently to be examined, a Tree of Life will be found very conspicuous: I may add that, in the Egyptian traditions also, there is a Tat-pillar, or World-Tree.[3] And possibly in the cross-within-a-circle, the hieroglyph for 'civilised land,' there may be an allusion either to the Four Rivers of other Paradise-Traditions, or to the Four Mountain-peaks of the Egyptian tradition. Accompanied by the character signifying 'God,' or 'divine,' this hieroglyph is translated by Brugsch 'heilige Wohnstätte,' 'holy abodes.'[4] Such are the indications of an Egyptian tradition of a Primeval Home in the North. And they seem to me far too varied and numerous to have originated in such trivial causes as some have suggested—in the pleasantness, for instance, of the North-wind, &c.—and not rather in a true reminiscence of a Northern Homeland.

3. For this tradition by no means contradicts the still more unquestionable one of a Primeval Home in the South. It may, indeed, be admitted that such a tradition of Northern origin would have been, to say the least, very surprising, had the Egyptian conquerors all come from South-Western Arabia and the opposite Abyssinian coastland. But there appears to be clear evidence that there was, even in that first mythical age of Egyptian civilisation which preceded the Empire of Menes, of which the foundation is placed, by Mariette and Lenormant,[5] in 5004 B.C.—the Age of the Wars, mythically recorded as the struggle between Typhon and Horus—a strong infusion of kindred white blood directly from the North. This infusion of new Northern blood would naturally be accompanied by a

[1] Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 119, 120.

[2] F. Petrie, *The Pyramids*.

[3] See Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, pp. 46–7.

[4] But see *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1880, p. 25.

[5] *Hist. Anc.*, t. ii. pp. 33–5. The synchronous Dynasties by which Bunsen, for instance, reduced this date to 3623 are fully admitted, but it is shown that Manetho took due account of them in his List.

reinforcement of those traditions of a Northern origin which may have well, by that time, been dying out in that Southern Branch of the White Race whose Sacred Land was now Southern Arabia. For if—as I may, in the sequel, be able to show—it is highly probable that the North was the Primary Centre of Dispersion of the White Variety of Mankind, we may well believe that Southern Arabia was but a Secondary Centre of Dispersion of that Branch of the Archaian White Stock there settled. But it is especially to be noted that these Egyptian Paradise-Traditions—and we shall find it to be the same with all the more ancient Paradise-Traditions—contain no real indication whatever of being traditions of a common 'Urheimath des Menschengeschlechts', Primæval Home of Mankind, 'Berceau du Genre Humain, de l'Humanité, &c.' The Archaian Paradise-Traditions are simply traditions of the origin of the Archaian White Races—traditions either of their Secondary, or of their Primary, Centres of Dispersion. And this is evidenced, in the Egyptian traditions, by such facts as these:—It is the supreme demiurgos Khnūm—from whose nostrils, as we have just seen, the North wind is poetically represented as proceeding—it is Khnūm whom the monuments show us moulding the clay of which the Egyptian Adams were made; it is by the goddess Sekket, also connected with the North, that this operation is performed for the Adams of the other Asiatic and Northern races of the Amū and Tamahu; and their belief that the Black Variety of Mankind had an entirely different origin the Egyptians expressed by attributing their formation to Har or Hor, the God of the South.[1]

4. The Chaldean Paradise-Traditions, though they have received a more mythological development, are yet, in their historical kernel, very significantly similar to those of Egypt. In Chaldea, as in Egypt, we have a tradition of a Southern and maritime, and a tradition also of a Northern and mountainous, Primæval Home of the Civilising Race. This I ven-

[1] See Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. i. p. 39, and compare Chabas, *Antiquité historique*, p. 87.

ture to say, with full knowledge of the remark of Lenormant with respect to the Fragments of the Χαλδαϊκά of Bérossos, 'Il n'est nullement fait mention de l'ordre de traditions que nous venons d'examiner.'[1] A Paradise-tradition such as the Gan-Eden Tradition of *Genesis* there certainly is not in the Χαλδαϊκά. But, as our study of these traditions in their earliest sources more and more clearly reveals, the genuinely ancient Paradise-traditions are simply traditions of the earlier or later Homelands of the White Races. Hence the story of Oannes in the Fragments of Book I.[2] can hardly, I think, be otherwise regarded than as a mythologically—that is to say, pictorially and hieroglyphically—recorded tradition of immigrants from the South having settled in Chaldea, and founded its civilisation. What the story of Oannes comes to is this. In the beginning of the First, or Antediluvian, Age of Chaldean Civilisation, there were at Babylon a multitude of men of diverse tribes, who had colonised Chaldea,[3] and who lived ἀτάκτως, 'lawlessly,' and many, no doubt, as the priestly chronicler says, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία, 'after the manner of beasts.' But among these barbarians, and perhaps also savages of the lower Tigris and Euphrates, all the elements of civilisation were introduced by godlike beings who came up from the Erythrean Sea, or Persian Gulf. These mythically described personages taught the diverse tribes of barbarians to sow seeds and gather harvests; to build towns and to erect temples; laws were made for them; the sciences and arts were cultivated, and books were written. Of this mythological Oannes-tradition in the various fragmentary forms in which it has come down to us, I shall have much to say when we come to examine those Colonisation-traditions to which this of Oannes properly belongs. Here I notice it merely as an indication of a tradition among the ruling class of Chaldea that their civilising ancestors had, like the Egyptians on the

[1] *Comment. des Fragments cosmog. de Bérose*, p. 315.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 6, 7.

[3] Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἀλλοεθνῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν Χαλδαίαν. Lenormant, *Fragments cosmog. de Bérose*, p. 6.

other side of the Arabian Peninsula, been immigrants who had arrived by sea from a Southern home. I admit that nothing could be more mythological than the form of this tradition—that a wise Being with the body of a fish, but under the head of the fish another and human head, and in the tail the feet of a man,[1] came out of the sea, mixed with men, but took none of their food, taught them all the arts during the day, and returned at sunset to the sea. But the essential historical truth of the tradition that appears in Bérossos, in this highly mythological form, has been recently demonstrated by the most remarkable discoveries. A statue recently brought to light in the French explorations at Tel-loh, in Lower Chaldea,[2] has been found not only to be extraordinarily similar in material and form to the statue of Khefren of the Fourth Dynasty of Egypt, but to bear on its knees a standard of measurement identical with that employed by the builders of the Egyptian Pyramids.[3] From such a fact no other inference can be drawn than that there must have been a close connection between the initiators of the civilisations of Chaldea and of Egypt. But, as we have seen, the chief civilising element of Egypt certainly came from Southern Arabia.[4] Hence, if the initiators of the Chaldean civilisation were not only by their arts closely connected with the initiators of the Egyptian civilisation, but had also, like the Egyptians, a tradition of a Southern origin, we may further infer that, as the civilisers of Egypt came from South-western Arabia, or Yemen, the civilisers of Chaldea came from South-eastern Arabia, or Oman. And this inference is supported by some of the very facts which have hitherto been cited in support of a theory of the Northern derivation of the Chaldean civilisation. The Chaldean

[1] *Ζῶον ἔμφρον . . . τὸ μὲν ὅλον σῶμα ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἄλλην κεφαλὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ ἰχθύος κεφαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου παραπεφυκότας δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἰχθύος.* Lenormant, *loc. cit.*

[2] See De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée.*

[3] See Flinders Petrie, in *Nature*, August 9, 1883; and compare Sayce, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 33.

[4] See above, p. 326.

cuneiform sign for 'country' originally meant 'mountain,' and hence it was thought that the original Chaldeans must have come from the North-eastern highlands of Kurdistan.[1] But the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign for 'country' also means 'mountain;' and such a sign could have been used by the Egyptians for 'country' only in the highlands of Southern Arabia, their Holy Land of Pūnt. We have, however, seen that the civilisation of Chaldea was certainly, in its origin, connected with that of Egypt, and was probably derived, like it, from Southern Arabia. And hence this mountain-sign for 'country' may now be cited in proof of an origin in the highlands of Southern Arabia rather than from those of Northern Kurdistan. Still other facts confirm this inference. There is, I believe, no original cuneiform sign for 'river,' but there is such a sign for 'sea;' and original signs there also are for 'boat' and 'sail.' Further, the cuneiform sign for the 'pine' is not original, but compound; while that for the 'palm' is original.

5. But, as I have said, in Chaldea, as in Egypt, we have indications also of a tradition of a Northern Homeland. In Chaldea, as, but far more frequently than, in Egypt, we find allusions in the inscriptions to a Divine Mountain, called, in Akkadian, *Karsag Kalama*, or *Karsag Karkurra*, the 'Mountain of the Land,' or *Kur Ku*, the 'Holy Mountain.'[2] That this mountain was conceived as being in the North, or rather North-east, is generally agreed; and it appears, indeed, if not to have been identical with either Mount Rowandiz or Mount Elburz, at any rate to have been located—though possibly not originally—in that mountainous region south of the Caspian. It was mythically regarded as the pivot of the celestial movements;[3] as the mountain where dwelt the Gods,

[1] See, for instance, Boscawen, *British Museum Lectures*, 'The Races and Languages of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley,' p. 8; and see generally pp. 1–9.

[2] Sayce, *Jour. R. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xiv. pt. iii. p. 393; see also *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881.

[3] Lenormant, *Die Magie u. Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer*, p. 164; or the English Translation of the French edition, p. 150.

and where they were born eternally;[1] and the mountain to which Heroes and Kings beloved of the Gods passed after death.[2] At its antipodes was the Mountain of the Demons and the Wicked; and between these two mountains extended the region of Aralli, of which the great divisions were named 'Aralli of the North' and 'Aralli of the South.'[3] One text appears to make it probable, though its mutilated condition renders it only probable, that the *Gan-galgalla*, the 'Very-great Garden,' mentioned in a certain hymn, was situated on the top of this Holy Mountain.[4] It is certain, at least, that, on this 'Mountain of the Land,' was a Divine Fountain, the source of all earthly rivers, and which was called *Ghe-kin-kûr-kû*, 'The Fountain which flows round the Holy Mountain.'[5] Such is the North Chaldean Paradise-tradition. And, though I have stated it in as simple a way as possible, it may be admitted that all this story of a Divine Mountain in the North is, though in a different way, as highly mythological in its form as was the Oannes-story of a civilisation coming from the South. It must be admitted also that several of the facts which, a year or two ago, might have been alleged in favour of the supposition that this story had an historical kernel cannot now be so alleged. And it may perhaps also not unfairly be said that all this story of a Mountain of the Gods in the North-east might possibly have originated merely from the Gods having been placed in those remote and lofty regions by the dwellers on the Chaldean plains, without their having themselves immigrated from these North-eastern highlands. Still, the following facts may justify

[1] See the texts, Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. p. 126, n. 6 and 7; and p. 135, n. 3.

[2] See the text translated by Mr. Boscawen, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, t. iv. pp. 272–286; and Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's*, pp. 12-15.

[3] See Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, t. ii. p. 135; and his references to the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, t. ii. and t. iv.

[4] See the text, Lenormant, *Origines*, t. ii. p. 129 n. 'Le jardin qui est mis ici en rapport avec la montagne sainte n'est-il pas un *Gan-Eden* qui en couronne la cime? On ne saurait l'affirmer d'après une indication aussi incomplète. Mais il ne serait pas trop téméraire de le conjecturer.'

[5] Lenormant, *Origines*, t. ii. p. 133.

us in regarding this story of a Divine Mountain in the North as indicating the probability of the existence of a tradition of a Northern origin, among one important element, at least, of the population of Chaldea. Thus, for instance, while the Cone-fruit presented to the Kings and Gods would appear to have been a Citron, brought from Southern lands,[1] the Fir-trees and Fir-cones of Northern mountains are hardly less frequently represented on the monuments. Then, Aralli, which adjoins the Divine Mountain in the North, is spoken of not merely as the mythical region of the Dead, but as a real country abounding in gold, and which we may possibly be able to identify.[2] Further, it is on the mountains to the North and North-east of Chaldea—and there alone apparently—that those precious elements of material civilisation, the Wheat-grass and the Vine, have, from time immemorial to the present day, grown wild;[3] and perhaps the original character of the cuneiform sign for the Vine may indicate its introduction by immigrants from the North rather than from the South. And yet further, the following facts, to which Professor De Lacouperie has called my attention in relation to this question, are, at least, highly suggestive. While the character used by the Southern immigrants for denoting the Deity was an eight-rayed star, indicating an individualising worship of the heavenly bodies, the Akkadian name for God, *Dingir*, equates with the Turanian Tingri, and Chinese Tien. And, as each of these means simply the Vault of Heaven, the characteristic object of worship of the so-called Turanian peoples of the North, a Northern origin would appear thus to be indicated for one element of the population of Chaldea.

[1] See Bonavia, 'The Cone-fruit of the Assyrians,' in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, May and June 1888.

[2] Lenormant, *Origines*, t. ii. pp. 136–8. Lenormant suggests that *Havilah* (referred to in *Genesis* ii. 11 as 'the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good') may be a mistake for *Haralah*, which would have exactly corresponded in Hebrew to the Assyrian *Aralu*; and he points out that in the *Oural*, as in the whole Siberian region between the Oural and the Altai, there are very rich auriferous strata.

[3] See De Candolle, and *Babylonian and Oriental Record*.

6. But besides these two sets of Chaldean Paradise-traditions, there is a third set which is of an even more remarkable character. The Traditions which I have above indicated point to regions outside of Chaldea, situated respectively in Southern Arabia and Northern Kurdistan, and referred to as the Homes of national Gods or Godlike Ancestors. But the third set of Chaldean Paradise-traditions which I have now to mention are Traditions, not of far-off Primeval Homes of Gods and Ancestors, but of localities in Chaldea itself, stocked, or, at least, associable, with all those marvellous objects which the Hebrew legend has described as characteristic features of Gan-Eden, the Garden of Eden. Thus we note, first of all, that Eden and Gan-Eden, the more ancient and sacred names for Paradise, seem to be of Accadian or Chaldean derivation.[1] Delitzsch[2] has shown that the two chief rivers of the Chaldean Gan-Eden, or Paradise, were named respectively in the Chaldean tongue, *Puru-nunu*, the 'Great-Basin' or 'Great River, the River Euphrates,'[3] or *Puru*, the 'River,'[4] and *Iddiqla*, 'the river with high banks,' the Hiddequel, the Tigris. The most ancient Accadian name also of Babylon was *Tin-tir-ki*, the 'Place of the Tree of Life.'[5] Among the most ancient names likewise of Babylonia

[1] For in Chaldea and Assyria the terms used to denote the enclosed plesaunces —to use an old English word—of the Kings, were *Kiru* and *Ginu*, the latter identical with the Hebrew *gan* (garden), and, according to Lenormant, derived, not from a Semitic root, but from an old Accadian form *gana*, 'enclosure.' Delitzsch has also shown that *edin* signified in Accadian a 'plain.' See *Wo lag das Paradies?* and compare Hommel, *Abriss der babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte*; Sayce, *Academy*, October 9, 1880; and Lenormant, 'La Question de l'Eden et les Etudes de M. F. Delitzsch,' *Origines*, t. ii. 'Appendice.' As for the word 'Paradise,' it is derived from the Zend *Pairidaeza*, a 'place enclosed by walls;' whence the Armenian *Pardez*, the Greek παράδεισος, the Hebrew *Pardes*, the Syriac *Phardaeso*, and the Persian *Firdaus*. See Lenormant, *Origines*, t. ii. 1re partie, p. 67.

[2] *Wo lag das Paradies?* S. 169 Flg.

[3] *Genesis* xv. 18, and *Deuteron.* i. 7.

[4] *Exodus* xxiii. 31; Is. viii.

[5] *Tin* = life, *tir* = tree, or group of trees, and *ki* = place. Lenormant, *Etudes sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes*, § ix., and Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, S. 120.

or Northern Chaldea were Gan-Dūnyas, the 'Garden,' and Kar-Dūnyas, the 'Enclosure,' of the god Dūnyash.[1] These names have not, indeed, been as yet found earlier than the time of the Kūshite or Kissian Dynasty of the eighteenth century B.C. But the far greater antiquity of the name Tin-tir-ki ('Place of the Tree of Life') for Babylon makes it almost certain that if Babylonia was not called Gan-Dūnyas or Kar-Dunyas before the time of this Kissian Dynasty, it was called the 'Garden' or 'Enclosure' of some other god for whom Dūnyas was substituted by this Dynasty. And as in northern, so it was also in southern Chaldea. In the most ancient Accadian hymns of this region—hymns preserved in the original Accadian accompanied by interlinear translations into Assyrian, and discovered among the ruins of the Royal Library of Nineveh—in these most ancient Chaldean hymns a Sacred Grove is mentioned at Eridū, near the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris; and in the midst of this Paradise or, as one should perhaps rather say, Gan-Eden or 'Garden of the Plain,' there rose the Tree of Life, and Tree of the World.[2] As to the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, it is either the Tree of Life itself regarded as prophetic, or another tree believed more particularly to reveal the secrets of the Future by the movements and murmurs of its leaves.[3] With the Tree of Life a Serpent is also associated in the primitive Chaldean traditions. On a Chaldean cylinder of very ancient date preserved in the British Museum,

[1] See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* SS. 133–37, and compare Lenormant, *Origines*, t. i. 1re P. p. 105, &c.

[2] Lenormant, 'Les Etudes de M. F. Delitzsch,' *Origines*, t. ii. 1re partie, 'Appendice,' pp. 103, 106, &c. As to the Tree of Life, compare Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Bd. ii. S. 190 Flg., and De Lacouperie, 'The Tree of Life and the Calendar Plant of Babylonia,' in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, June 1888. See also in the same periodical, Bonavia, 'The Cone-fruit of the Assyrian Monuments' (May and June 1888), and F. Petrie, 'Egyptian Funeral Cones' (Feb. 1888). As to the manner in which the Cone is presented to the Kings, it has been supposed to be an indication of some knowledge of electricity or magnetism. But if it is a Citron, it would be presented for its perfume, and would be naturally held as represented.

[3] See Baudissin, as cited in last note, p. 227.

a man and a woman [1]—the former with the turban described by Ezekiel [2] as characteristic of the Chaldeans—are represented seated face to face on either side of the Tree of Life, and behind the woman a serpent is erect; [3] and though not definitely connected, in any hitherto discovered text, either with the Gan-Dunyas of Babylon, or the Sacred Grove of Eridū, a First Man is named, the Assyrian form of whose name is *Admū*, the equivalent of the Hebrew *Adam*, and to which corresponds the Accadian *Adiūrū*,[4] which in its Græcised form Ἄδωρος appears in Bérossos as the name of that first of the Antediluvian Kings of Chaldea, along with whom, in the first year (of the world), appeared the first Oannes, with his civilising instructions and revelations.[5] 'Cherubim' also are not only found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Chaldea under the name of Kirūbi, but at the gates of its palaces and temples in the form of colossal bulls, winged and man-headed. And though no inscriptions have as yet been found connecting Kirūbi either with the Gan-Dunyas of North, or the Sacred Grove of South Chaldea, yet, in a bilingual document, Accadian and Assyrian, we read invocations addressed to the Kirūbi on either side of the gate of Arali, the Underworld; and on a talisman we find the words *Kirubu damku lippakid* —'May the propitious Kerub [winged and man-headed bull] guard!' And finally, in the most ancient texts of Chaldean

[1] It may, however, be doubted, perhaps, whether the figure to the left is a woman. See Sayce, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*; and compare Menant, *Glyphique Orientale*, p. 191.

[2] xxiii. 15: 'The images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, *exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads*, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity.'

[3] See Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 91; and compare Layard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xvi. No. 4, and Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.*, t. i. p. 35, and in the latter (p. 37) compare an engraving of the Phœnician vase discovered by General de Cesnola in Cyprus, on which a serpent is represented advancing to take of the fruit of a tree.

[4] See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, vol. iii. p. 378.

[5] See Lenormant, *Comment. des Fragments cosmog. de Bérose.*

[6] Lenormant, *Origines de l'Hist.*, t. i. pp. 111–118. As to the Kerubim of Ezekiel see pp. 119–124, and as to the Kerubim of the Ark of the Covenant pp. 125–128.

poetry, a weapon evidently similar to the *Tchakra* of the Indians—a disk with sharp edges, which is thrown forward horizontally after a rapid rotation has been imparted to it by the fingers [1]—such a weapon is celebrated triumphantly as a 'Disk of Fire,' a 'Disk of Carnage,' a true 'Flaming Sword which turns every way.' [2]

7. We come now, in due chronological order, to the consideration of the Hebrew Gan-Eden Traditions. These are at once the most complete and the most concise of all the Paradise Traditions that have come down to us. But, if we consider the facts just stated—facts showing that almost every one of the characteristic objects, and even names, of the Hebrew Gan-Eden are found in the Chaldean Traditions; and if we also recall the facts previously stated—facts showing that the recordation of the Chaldean Traditions must be carried back to the fourth, and even the fifth, millennium B.C.; and that, even if a very doubtful Patriarchal Age is admitted, it takes us, for the Hebrew origins, only to the beginning of the third millennium B.C., while the more historical Exodus takes us only to the beginning of the second millennium B.C.; [3] we cannot, I think, but come to the conclusion that the Hebrew Paradise-legend owes its origin to but a late synthesis of far more ancient Chaldean Traditions. Destructive, however, as this conclusion is of ecclesiastical assumptions, it is corroborated by such facts as the following. First, the results of research as to the age of the Hebrew Scriptures—results

[1] The Tchakra or Chakra is thus described by Coleman, *Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 376: 'A discus resembling a wheel, or quoit, a sort of missile weapon, imagined to have been whirled round the middle finger, and used as an instrument of war. The Chakra is mythologically described as a circular mass of fire, darting flame in all directions, which, thrown by the gods, slays the wicked, and then returns to the hand from which it issued.' Several of the Hindu gods are represented with this discus in the plates of the above-named work. And with reference to this property of returning to the hand by which the weapon was thrown, it may be noted that the boomerang appears to have been identified on the Chaldean monuments.

[2] Lenormant, *Origines de l'Hist.*, t. i. pp. 129–139; and compare Orby, *Le Berceau l'Espèce humaine*, p. 163.

[3] See above, pp. 307–9 and n. 1.

which lead us to distinguish three great epochs in the sacred literature of the Hebrews: first, the epoch of the earliest recordation of Primitive Traditions and lyrical outbursts, an epoch hardly to be placed much further back than the eleventh century B.C.; secondly, the epoch of the Greater Prophets, and of the final redaction of the Hexateuch, which may be placed about the sixth century B.C.; and thirdly, the epoch of the Minor Prophets and the Apocrypha, which may be placed about the third century B.C. as a mean date. But further, not only must the general principles of the Origin of Species cause the old notion of the parting of two brothers, or brother-hordes, Semites and Aryans, at some crossroads in Central Asia, to be regarded but as a 'curious myth of the Middle Ages,' but special historical research appears to have shown that Northern Arabia was, most probably at least, if we cannot as yet say certainly, the scene of that modification of the White Variety of Mankind which became known as Semites.[1] The grounds of Hommel's argument for a Mesopotamian origin is a comparison of the most ancient Semitic names of animals and of trees with the fauna and flora of Mesopotamia and Arabia respectively. He affirms, for instance, that the primitive Semitic name for 'bear,' *clubba*, is not found in ancient Arabic; while, for the ostrich, indigenous in the deserts of Arabia (?), there is no primitive Semitic word. But, as Professor Sayce reminds me, the bear was once found in Egypt, and may well therefore have once existed in Arabia; and elephants were once hunted near Carchemish, in Upper Syria, where they have not for ages now been found. I may add that both the physical and the mental characteristics of the

[1] See Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabien's*, § 427; Eberhard Schrader, 'Die Abstammung der Chaldäer, und die Ursitze der Semiten,' in the *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.*, Bd. xxvii.; Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, pp. 3 and 13, and 'The Origin of Semitic Civilisation,' in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. i. 1872; and compare, among the later defenders of the opposed theory of an Armenian origin of the Semites, Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, Bd. i. § 402; Hommel, 'La Patrie originaire des Sémites,' in the *Atti del IV. Congresso internat. degli Orientalisti*, t. i. pp. 219–228; and *Die Namen der Saugethiere*; and Guidi, 'Della sede primitiva dei popoli-Semitici,' in the *Mem. d. Reale Acad. dei Lincei*, t. iii.

Semites, and particularly of the Hebrews—their large mouths and coarse lips, and their prodigious vanity and boastfulness [1]—as likewise the excellence and fertility of that contemporary cross between the Semite and the Negro of which we have had such convincing evidence in the Soudan, seem to indicate that the Semitic modification of the Archaian White Race was originally caused by intermarriage with Negroes. And for this there would certainly have been opportunity in Northern Arabia. And yet further, we know that, millenniums before the historical existence of the Hebrews, kindred Semites had migrated, most probably from Northern Arabia—if there they originated—into Mesopotamia north-eastwards, as other kindred Semites migrated later into Syria north-westwards; and that, in the Euphrates-valley these immigrants acquired a dominant position so early as 3800 B.C.; [2] and before 3000 B.C. had overthrown the old Chaldean Empire, of which they adopted and adapted the arts, the religion, and the traditions. Against such facts as these I know not what facts can be adduced to excuse oneself from the inference already drawn that the similarities of the Hebrew to the Chaldean Paradise-Traditions are due to the borrowing of these Traditions by the Hebrews, and particularly as the historical intercourse of the Hebrews with the Arameans and the Phœnicians afforded ready means for such borrowing.

8. But, in adopting, the Hebrews adapted the Chaldean Traditions. And, in reference to the theory of the North Arabian origin of the Semites, it is noteworthy that nothing is said in *Genesis* of a Divine Mountain in the North or North-east,[3] but simply that 'Yahveh-Elohim planted a garden east-

[1] See, for instance, *Fortnightly Review*, August 1884.

[2] The date now accepted for the epoch of Sargon I.

[3] Lenormant, indeed (*Origines*, t. ii. 1re partie, pp. 52, 105, &c.), rather surprisingly insists that 'la donnée fondamentale' of the Hebrew Eden is that 'le jardin de Dieu, *Gan-Elohim*, est placé, comme le jardin des délices des Dieux de l'Inde, au sommet d'une montagne, la montagne sainte de Dieu, toute étincelante de pierres précieuses.' But he cannot, of course, but admit that there is no such 'donnée fondamentale' whatever in *Genesis*, the fundamental document on the subject, and he can but refer to such expressions as the following in the Prophets: 'Thou hast said . . . I will sit also upon the Mount of the congrega-

wards in Eden.'[1] And if North Arabia was the Semitic centre of origin and dispersion, it was in fact 'eastwards' from that birth-land that the Gan-Eden of Chaldea was planted. But the features added, in the Hebrew Gan-Eden Legend, to the Chaldean Paradise-Traditions, are hardly less significant of a late synthesis than are those names and objects borrowed from the Chaldean by the Hebrew legendists. These added features are two in number: the physical circumstance of Four Rivers, and the moral story of the Fall. As to the first, if in the preceding pages I have succeeded in placing the reader at the new standpoint gained by the results of Egyptian and Chaldean discovery, it can hardly, I think, but occur to him that the prodigious problem made of the identification of the 'four heads' into which the 'river that went out of Eden was parted,' and of which 'the name of the first is Pison, and the name of the second river is Gihon, and the name of the third river is Hiddekel, and the fourth river is Euphrates'[2] —it can hardly, I think, but occur to the reflective reader that the prodigious problem which the authors of a hundred different solutions[3] have made of the identification of these four 'partings' of the Gan-Eden river, is due merely to an

tion, in the sides of the North' (Isaiah xiv. 13); 'Thou wast upon the Holy Mountain of God' (*Ezekiel* xxviii. 14); and 'I will cast thee as profane out of the Mountain of God' (*ibid.* 16). These expressions certainly witness to the currency of the notion of such a Divine Mountain in the North, as we have found mentioned both in Egyptian hieroglyphic and Chaldean cuneiform documents. But it seems hardly justifiable to affirm that such late poetic expressions supplement the want of any hint even of such a Mountain in the primitive Jehovist document of *Genesis*.

[1] *Genesis* ii. 8.

[2] *Ibid.* 10–14.

[3] As, for instance, Josephus, *Antiq.*, i. 1, 3; S. Ambrose, *De Paradiso*; Huet, *De la situation du Paradis terrestre* (1691); Morin, *De Paradiso terrestri*; Vivien de St. Martin, *Histoire de la Géographie*; Sprenger, *Geographie Arabiens*; Reland u. Brugsch, *Persischen Reise*, Bd. i. S. 145 Flg.; Rawlinson (Sir H.), *Rep. of the Liverpool Meeting of the British Association*, p. 173; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* M. Engel, *Die Lösung der Paradiesfrage*; Ig. Donnelly, *Atlantis*; Warren, *Paradise Found*; the various other only true discoverers of Eden cited and refuted by these authors; and last of all, surely an impossibility, that *Seychelles* theory of General Gordon's, the cruel publication of which (*Universal Review*, December 1888) we owe to the conjunction of an enterprising editor and an indiscreet friend.

historically false point of view. For evidently, if we are dealing, not with a genuine ancient and native Tradition, but with a late poetic synthesis of ancient and foreign Traditions, difficulties in precise localisation will be just what we shall expect. And even if we should succeed in precisely localising the physical features described in such a late poetic synthesis, it will still be doubtful whether we have thus become acquainted with historically true Traditions, or merely with the geographical notions, or, it may be, only with the literary purposes, of those who gave to the ancient Traditions in question a new synthetic form. Hence, all the new historical knowledge given us by the Hebrew legend of the Four Rivers is simply an increased probability that there was, and that we may possibly still discover, a genuinely ancient Chaldean Tradition of the parting into four heads of the Ghe-kin-kûr-kû, 'The Fountain which flows round the Holy Mountain,' and is the source of all earthly rivers.[1] But as the Fountain of the Chaldean Paradise-Tradition was unquestionably connected with a 'Mountain in the North,' it is certain that neither Sir Henry Rawlinson's [2] nor Professor Delitzsch's [3] identification of the Hebrew 'Four Rivers' can—as neither identification has anything to do with a mountain—correspond with the 'Four Rivers' of the primitive Chaldean Tradition, though it is possible that either Sir Henry Rawlinson's or Professor Delitzsch's identification may correspond with the *Hebrew notion* of the Four Rivers. But which, or whether either of them, is thus right, the reader will, I trust, now see to be historically of small consequence. Much more probably identifiable with the primitive Chaldean Tradition are the Four Rivers which have closely neighbouring sources in the mountains of Western Armenia—the Phasis or Araxes, the Kyros, the Tigris or Hiddekel, and the Euphrates.[4] But from the point of view of genuinely histori-

[1] See above, p. 333.
[2] *Rep. of Liverpool Meeting of Brit. Association.*
[3] *Wo lag das Paradies?*
[4] See Reland u. Brugsch as above cited, p. 341, n. 3.

cal Tradition, far more important than the objections urged by Delitzsch against this identification,[1] is the want of evidence, as yet, of an early occupation of this region either by the Semites[2] or by the Akkadians.[3]

9. What it here, however, chiefly concerns us to note, is that the possibility of making out some sort of case for a hundred, and a plausible case for any one of half a hundred different identifications of the quadrifurcate river of the Hebrew Gan-Eden is a strongly confirmatory proof of our general conclusion that the Hebrew Paradise-Legend is but a late synthesis of foreign Traditions. Nor less strongly confirmatory of this general conclusion appears to be the second feature added to the primitive Chaldean Tradition, namely, the story of the Fall, a constituent part as it is of the Hebrew Gan-Eden Legend. The examination, however, of this story properly belongs to what may be distinguished as Impiety Traditions—Traditions, namely, which express new intellectual ideas, and new moral sentiments, either directly in such stories as that of the Fall, or indirectly in such stories as those of Cain and Canaan, in which the characters of personages or races, with older or other ideas and sentiments, are religiously blackened. It must here, therefore, suffice briefly to affirm what I may hereafter show in detail, that the Hebrew notion of the Fall of Man through the breaking of a taboo, presents a complete contrast to the ideas characteristic of the ancient Chaldean Traditions, and a contrast of demonstrably later to earlier notions. Hence the remark may perhaps be permitted

[1] *Wo lag das Paradies?* But even he admits that 'sehen wir von Phasis ab, so liegen die Quellen jener vier Ströme nicht allzuweit von einander,' S. 34.

[2] According to the theory above referred to (p. 339, n. 1) of the Semites having originated in the Armenian Taurus, of which the eastern part is called Sim by Moses of Khor'ni (i. 5 and 22, ii. 7 and 81); but the theory can hardly, it would seem, be now sustained against the apparently more probable theory of their North Arabian origin.

[3] See Pinches, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, Nov. Dec. 1881 and 1882. 'As it seems,' says Mr. Pinches, 'that the country north of Assyria was also called Akkad, as well as the northern part of Babylonia, the neighbourhood of Cappadocia as the home of the Akkadian race may be regarded as a very possible explanation.' This suggestion, however, has been much questioned.

that a more philosophic view of historical possibilities would have made the lamented scholar, Mr. George Smith,[1] expect to find anything rather than a genuine Chaldean Fall-story in those 'Fragments des Récits de la Création,' in which, as M. Jules Oppert afterwards showed, 'il n'y a absolument rien qui rappelle la Chute.'[2] But this being so, the fact of the Hebrew Gan-Eden story having bound up with it such a story as that of the Fall, marks it at once as a late synthesis of Chaldean Paradise-Traditions, and as one, therefore, to be regarded as a poetical Legend rather than as an historical Tradition. And now to summarise the result of our examination of the Hebrew Gan-Eden Legend. It is unquestionable that the recordation of the Hebrew Traditions is some one or two thousand years later than the recordation of the Chaldean Traditions; and it is unquestionable also that the Hebrews were, from the earliest period of their history, in relation with such other peoples as would lead to their being influenced either directly or indirectly by Chaldean Traditions. The similarities, therefore, of Hebrew to Chaldean Traditions can be explained only by Hebrew borrowing, directly or indirectly, from the Chaldeans; while the differences are referable to the late age of the Hebrew synthesis of these Traditions, and to the Hebrew peculiarities of the authors of that synthesis. And hence our general conclusion must be that the Hebrew Paradise-story—prodigious as has been the amount of the speculation and research to which, on the assumption of its miraculous, or, at least, primitive, character, it has given rise—is historically comparatively worthless; and that, so far as an historical inference can be legitimately drawn from it with respect to the origin of the Semites, it is rather confirmatory than contradictory of the hypothesis of their North Arabian origin. As to the doctrinal rather than historical aspect of the Gan-Eden Legend, that

[1] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*

[2] *Atti del IV. Cong. Internat. degli Oriental.*, 1880. *Trad. de quelques Tentes Assyriens*, p. 238.

does not here concern us. I may, however, note that story and song, in which

More is meant than meets the ear,[1]

and which, therefore, not only have, but are by their authors intended to have, one meaning for the commonalty, and another for the cultured, are in the highest degree characteristic of Oriental literature, both ancient and modern;[2] and that the facts just pointed out—the facts of the late date and synthetic character of the Hebrew Paradise-Legend — add great probability to the opinion maintained by so many learned Rabbis, that the Hebrew Paradise-story is to be regarded, not as an historical Tradition, but as a doctrinal Parable. And I may also here point out that the first undoubted Scriptural allusion to the story of the Fall belongs only to the late age of the *Apocrypha*,[3] and that, in this allusion, the story appears to be regarded rather as an apologue than as a tradition.'[4]

10. The result of an historical examination of the Aryan, we shall find to be similar to the result just stated of an examination of the Semitic Paradise-Traditions. In other words, the Aryan Paradise-Traditions must be regarded as of as small an independent historical value as are the Semitic, and particularly the Hebrew, Paradise-Traditions; and for the same reasons, namely, first, such a late recordation of the Aryan Traditions, and secondly, such a certain contact, direct or

[1] *Il Penseroso.*

[2] The mystic love-songs of Persian poets and the ironic fables of Ottoman story-tellers will at once occur as illustrations to the Eastern traveller even if he has no profound acquaintance with Oriental literature. But even Aristotle says, ὁ φιλόσοφος φιλόμυθός ἐστι, *Met.* i. 2. Compare Pindar (*Nem.* v. 30, and vii. 33; *Olym.* i. 45, and i. 51); Plato (*Phædr.* 229, and *Tim.* 99); and Strabo (i. 115, p. 43).

[3] *Wisdom* ii. 23, 24, 'For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it.' The 'serpent,' which, in *Genesis* (iii. 1), is a 'beast of the field,' is here for the first time allegorised into the 'devil,' though that personage did not come into existence till the period between the Books of *Samuel* and *Chronicles* (compare 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1 with 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1), that is to say, till after the Captivity or the Sixth Century B.C. See Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, and Reville, *Histoire du Diable.*

[4] Compare Mackay, *Progress of the Intellect*, vol. i. pp. 400-34.

indirect, with peoples related to, or influenced by, the Chaldeans, as make it impossible to explain the similarities of Aryan to Chaldean Paradise-Traditions otherwise than as borrowings of these Traditions. In proof of Aryan contact, direct or indirect, with peoples related to, or influenced by, the Chaldeans, I can as yet only refer the reader to that Second Part of this Essay which will set forth the facts of the distribution of the Archaian White Races, and the facts especially which relate to the contact of the Aryans with these Races. And in the meantime, therefore, I can only ask the reader to admit provisionally the possibility, at least, of proving that the Aryans, in the course of their migrations and conquests, came into the most powerfully influencing contact with Archaian White Races related to the Chaldeans, and hence presumably with a fund of similar Traditions. But in proof of the late recordation of Aryan Traditions I have only to summarise the results of recent researches with respect to the age both of the primitive composition and of the authoritative redaction of the elements now constituting the most revered scriptures of the Indians, Iranians, and Ionians (or Hellenes). These researches with respect to the ages of the sacred literature of the Aryans lead to a conclusion very remarkably similar to that which I have above stated as generalising the results of research with respect to the sacred literature of the Hebrews. Hardly earlier as a mean date than the Eleventh Century B.C. can we place the Epoch of the composition of the Hymns of the *Vedas*, the Gathas of the *Avesta*, and the Songs of the *Iliad*. Just as in Judea, the Sixth-Fifth Century B.C. was in India, in Persia, and in Greece, an Epoch marked not only by the working-together and redaction of older compositions, but by new compositions. A third Epoch, corresponding to the third Epoch above distinguished in Hebrew literature, may be distinguished also in the history of Aryan literature. And to still later epochs, down even to the tenth or eleventh centuries of the Christian Era, belong such sources of Aryan Legends as the Indian Puranas and the Persian Bundehesch. But my present limits forbid my

giving as much space to the comparison of the Aryan, as I have just given to the comparison of the Semitic Paradise-Traditions with those of the Egyptians, and particularly of the Chaldeans.

III. The Settlement-Traditions.

My present limits also oblige me rather to note what I should desire to say with respect to the third class of Archaian Traditions than to give any due account of these Traditions. But the true place and character of those Traditions of which I have, in the foregoing pages, given an account, will hardly be properly understood, unless I point out at least the place and character of this third class of Traditions. For, in fact, these Settlement-Traditions complete the primitive traditional history of the origin of Civilisation. In the Kinship-Traditions, we see Higher White Races acknowledging relationship with each other, but holding themselves incomparably superior to Lower Coloured and Black Races, who are referred to only as beings of an entirely different origin. In the Paradise-Traditions, we have more or less mythical records of what these White Races believed to have been their primitive Homelands. The Traditions both of the Egyptians and of the Chaldeans point to a primitive home in Southern Arabia, but they contain reminiscences also of a Northern Mountain-Home; and these, as we have seen, are by no means contradictory of the other set of Traditions, seeing that they may be Traditions of an earlier home than that in Southern Arabia, and Traditions more especially belonging to a branch of the Archaian White-Stock coming later from the North. And now, in what I distinguish as the Settlement-Traditions, we have more or less mythically expressed reminiscences of the prehistoric age of the Settlement of the Archaian White Races in the Nile- and Euphrates-valleys, and of the founding there of those first Civilisations which enter on their definitely historic age about 5000 (possibly 5500) B.C., and are then found possessed of scientific knowledge and of organised power so great

as to make it, in Egypt, possible for Menes not only to plan, but to execute a work so prodigious as the turning of the mighty Nile into a new channel, and the founding of a city, Memphis, in its former bed. These Settlement-Traditions cover at least three great periods, and may be distinguished as Foretime-Traditions, Deluge-Traditions, and Hero-Traditions. To the first, or Antediluvian period, belong, in Egypt, the war between the settlers in Upper and in Lower Egypt, of which we appear to have a record in the myth of Horus; and in Chaldea, those achievements of Culture-heroes of which we appear to have a record in the myth of Oannes and his successors. Then come the Deluge-Traditions, which we may, perhaps, see reason to believe were original only in Chaldea, and which may be connected with definite geological events. And then come the traditions of that Heroic period which immediately precedes the opening of the Historic Age in the sixth millennium B.C.

JUBILEE ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

THE following address was offered to her Majesty the Queen on the occasion of her Majesty's Jubilee :—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Council and Fellows of the Royal Historical Society.

May it please your Majesty,—

The Royal Historical Society begs leave to offer to your Majesty its sincere congratulations on the occasion of your Majesty's Jubilee. To none of your Majesty's subjects can such an occasion appeal with more force and truth than to those who, like ourselves, are engaged in the study of the past.

For the fourth time in the annals of this country has a sovereign been permitted by Providence to wear the crown of this kingdom for more than half a century; but none of your Majesty's predecessors, whether their reign has been short or long, has surpassed your Majesty in the glory and good fortune which has attended it, or has secured more fully the affection and respect of willing and devoted subjects.

Your Majesty, wielding a sceptre hallowed by the prescription of more than a thousand years, has enriched the ancient monarchy of England by a new title, while no decade of your Majesty's reign has passed without seeing extensive and valuable provinces added to your Majesty's dominions.

It is our fervent prayer that a reign so notable in the history of the world may be long extended, and may continue happy and prosperous to its close.

ABERDARE, *President.*
OSCAR BROWNING, *Chairman of the Council.*
P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary.*

London: July 1887.

To this address the following reply was received :—

Whitehall : August 10, 1887.

My Lord,—I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the loyal and dutiful address of the Council and Fellows of the Royal Historical Society on the occasion of the completion of the Fiftieth Year of her Majesty's Reign. And I have to inform your Lordship that her Majesty was pleased to receive the same very graciously

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

HENRY MATTHEWS.

The Lord Aberdare,
Duffryn, Mountain Ash,
South Wales.

THE COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

THE following letter was read at the Annual General Meeting of the Society held on February 17, 1887, and was then ordered to be printed in the Society's Transactions :—

Offices of the Imperial Institute,
1 Adam Street, Adelphi; February 4, 1887.

Sir,—I have received the instructions of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to submit to you the request that you will be so good as to inform the Council of the Royal Historical Society of the hope entertained by his Royal Highness that they will feel disposed to invite the Fellows of the Society to take part in the foundation of the Imperial Institute for the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India which is being established in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's reign.

The Prince of Wales believes that the form which it has been decided to give to this national memorial, and which has met with her Majesty's gracious approval, is of a nature especially to commend itself to the Fellows of the Society, inasmuch as the objects aimed at, and which it is hoped to attain by the creation of the Imperial Institute, are, in several important respects, kindred to, or in harmony and sympathy with, the important functions of the Society of which you are President.

If you and your Council should be willing to make an appeal to the Fellows of your Society to transmit through the Society their donations towards the fund required for the establishment of the Imperial Institute, the Society will thereby become directly identified with this national manifestion of the respect and affection entertained for her Majesty by all classes of her subjects.

I beg leave to enclose a pamphlet descriptive of the nature and objects of the Institute, and shall be glad to give directions for the transmission to the Society of this and other papers for distribution among the Fellows, should the suggestion of his Royal Highness be favourably entertained by yourself and your Council.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
F. A. ABEL,
Organising Secretary.

The President of the Royal Historical Society, &c.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

In July 1884 the 'Athenæum' published a paper from the pen of a foreign scholar, Professor Vinogradoff, of Moscow, already well known in this country by his painstaking research, on the subject of the supposed identification of a museum MS. with the notebook presumably compiled by the author of the 'Tractatus de Legibus &c. Angliæ,' from the records of the King's Court. This important MS. is here[1] edited by an English scholar, a Fellow of our Society, whose reputation was already equal to the task and (we may add) will be deservedly increased by its wholly successful accomplishment. The keynote of the editor's introduction is the originality of Bracton, who 'appeals not to Azo nor to Ulpian, nor again to Reason or Nature, but to this and that case adjudged by Martin Pateshull or William Raleigh.' In the face of this close adherence to the most distinctive characteristic of English law it matters little how much he borrowed from the civil law, for this was but the setting to the jewel, which he alone discovered and displayed. Nothing, therefore, can well be imagined of greater interest than this new means of tracking the footsteps of the author of the treatise, while the admirable edition now placed before them will also serve as a kind of text-book of record-lore to students who have as yet been content to take their cases from third-hand citations. To the student of English legal history the book is indispensable; and it may be said truly that no more worthy monument has yet been raised of the great lawyer, who 'was rivalled by no English juridical writer till Blackstone arose five centuries afterwards.'

A new volume of the Year Books[2] is always welcome as an instalment of the new series so urgently needed to fill in the gaps of the ancient publications. In its present form it is also an important contribution to the study of legal antiquities. The feature of the current volume is undoubtedly the question as to the jurisdiction of the Exchequer which arose in connection with the remarkable case of the Countess of Kent *v.* the Abbot of

[1] *Bracton's Note Book.* Edited by F. W. Maitland. Cambridge University Press, 1887.

[2] *The Year Book* 14 *Edward III.* Rolls Series. London (Eyre and Spottiswoode), 1888.

Ramsey in Easter term of this year. This was a claim of exoneration from a rent agreed to be paid by the defendants as lessees of the world-famous fair of St. Ives,[1] 'except in time of war.' In consequence of alleged inconvenience suffered during the French wars of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth years payment had been refused; and the lessor brought her action for recovery of rent. The only point in dispute was whether the war referred to in the defendants' charter included warfare elsewhere than in the realm of England. This was not a point easily settled, because of the want of distinction always existing between the *expeditio* and the *exercitus*, which was a convenient ambiguity for the Crown in more ways than one. But certainly the implication was that the exception in question applied only to the case of war in the realm, and it was apparently so interpreted by the judges. It will naturally be asked, however, whether this was merely a frivolous excuse or a real hindrance to commerce. Much light is thrown upon the subject by Exchequer records recording forced levies made from the subjects' property on the pretext of the 'King's wars,' and especially by the statute of this very year which forbids all such exactions under the name of purveyance 'pour les guerres le Roi . . . en Escoce, Engleterre, et aillors.' It is certain that the activity of the king's sergeants which is here implied would have been nowhere more conspicuous than on the occasion of such a fair as that of St. Ives. This case had still more important consequences, for, on the trial of a writ of error from the above judgment of the Court, a most interesting question of the jurisdiction of the Exchequer itself was incidentally raised. This, we learn from a slightly earlier precedent cited by Coke, was established from very early times on the most favourable footing, so that no case could be removed out of the Court itself, although it was customary in writs of error for certain councillors or justices to be associated with the barons. In the course of a minute criticism as to the nature of this precedent, the editor has suggested several remarkable discrepancies between the official entry of the record of this earlier case and the evidence of the

[1] Extracts from the rolls of the Abbot of Ramsay's Court of the St. Ives fair for the year 1275 will be found in the Selden Society's volume, *Pleas in Manorial and other Seignorial Courts*, edited by F. W. Maitland (London, 1889). It is hoped that the whole roll, as well as that for the year 1291, will some day be printed. There are few documents in existence which give so much detailed information about the commercial law and commercial morals of the thirteenth century.

record itself, tending to show that the former authority, though not less a one than the famous Red Book of the Exchequer, is quite worthless as being of comparatively modern date, although stated in this record to have been entered there by a contemporary scribe. The natural inference is that a portion at least of the Red Book has been lost, and the editor supports this view with great learning and moderation. There is another interesting question of jurisdiction in the form of a contempt of court committed in Westminster Hall in the next term, and several rather curious cases involving the responsibilities of a Sheriff. Indeed the interest of the present volume is perhaps greater from an historical point of view than that of any of its more recent predecessors. It will be enough to add that the work of editing these reports continues, in Mr. PIKE's hands, to be a model of precision and of scholarly research.

Mr. RYE is well known as a local antiquary whose industrious researches have thrown much light upon the history of this country at large, as well as of one corner of it more particularly. Although it is usual to regard with some distrust the directions of an amateur for research in any organised repository of manuscripts, it must be admitted that the author of this excellent handbook[1] has qualified himself by the most absolute experience in dealing with his subject. The arrangement of the book could scarcely be better as far as the headings of the chapters on Records go; but it would have been almost within the scope of the work if Mr. RYE had given a few simple directions to enable the general student of history to draw materials from these storehouses on his own account. Many such would visit the great libraries of MSS. for study or reference, if they were encouraged by an inkling of the *modus operandi*. To the expert antiquary, and especially to the county historian, Mr. RYE's charmingly-written guidebook will be of real service; and no local institution should be without a copy.

The service which Mr. Rye performs for the county historian is rendered in scarcely less degree by Mr. PHILLIMORE[2] to the genealogist. The plan of both works is virtually the same; each writer developing the subject in which he is personally most interested. The latter, however, is somewhat more ambitious in its scope, and, perhaps on that account, less satisfactory on the

[1] *Records and Record Searching.* By Walter Rye. London (Elliot Stock), 1888.

[2] *How to write the History of a Family.* By W. P. W. Phillimore. London (Elliot Stock), 1887.

whole. The style, also, is slightly didactic, and is certainly not so enjoyable as the frank discursiveness of Mr. Rye's volume. But, apart from these objections, it will be evident to anyone of experience in such matters that Mr. PHILLIMORE has produced a really valuable work, and one which should be largely and confidently utilised by those genealogists who have the energy to undertake, as all should do, their searches in person.

Lieutenant PERRY's useful little book[1] is based upon the melancholy assumption that few military men 'have either opportunity or time to do more than make themselves practically acquainted with the existing regulations of their own arm of service.' Fortunately there are some exceptions, and of these Lieutenant PERRY is one of the most industrious. In a wonderfully small space the author treats of the complex regulations of the army and navy: salutes, many and various under different circumstances; lists of all the regular and auxiliary forces (both naval and military), and of all the ranks and appointments, with their distinctive badges, from seaman and private upwards; the precedence of the various arms, of the corps, and of officers, as well as of counties; a record of all badges and medals; an historical and geographical *précis* of campaigns, battles, and sieges, giving the names of the generals on both sides, regimental records, mottoes, and heraldic cognisances, with a record of the principal household badges adopted by English sovereigns from Henry II. downwards, all accompanied by interesting and valuable historical notes. Accurate and sufficient for all general purposes as this little book is, it makes us wish for an enlargement which will satisfy the needs of the historian. Much information lies hid in the enormous mass of our national records; and Lieutenant PERRY would do good work if he were to deal with it. Even as it is, his book is indispensable to the historian whose work touches on English warfare.

Mr. STEVENS, now a member of our Council, has long been known, amongst antiquaries and students at large, as the greatest living authority upon the *origines* of American history from the time when the great English Colony ceased to exist, and the great Anglo-Saxon nation took its place. Mr. STEVENS has made himself master of the contents of every library of Europe and every repository of the state-archives, which alone can elucidate the merits and progress of the revolutionary movement in America. Such a collation of

[1] *Ranks and Badges in the Army and Navy.* By O. L. Perry. London (Wm. Clowes), 1887.

authorities[1] has never before been attempted in the literary history of any country; and American historians may well be grateful for the promise of a synopsis of all the heads of historical matter relating to the revolutionary period with a digest of their contents. The work before us is but a slight specimen of what it is possible for the diligent labourer in this field of research to produce —a fragment, though a rather large one, of the unwritten history of that age. It is only by means of such monographs as these that we are made conscious of the real meaning of historical investigation, and are taught to reject all pretentious generalisations which have failed to extract the truth, painfully and often piecemeal only, from musty tomes and mouldering rolls of manuscript evidence. The story of the controversy between the two great English generals is more or less familiar to us all, but probably it has less interest for ourselves than for American readers. The merits of the quarrel are of little importance now that the loss which it helped to complete has ceased to be regretted. But it is of the greatest importance to the historical student to know with certainty the facts of the campaign, verified by original returns from the Admiralty and War Office records, and by contemporary despatches which throw a flood of light upon the biography of the period. This information is exhaustively supplied by Mr. STEVENS's commentaries on the original text of the controversy while the latter itself is given to us here for the first time in an unmutilated form. There have been few historical works in any country that can compare in weight of authority with the present volume, the precursor, we hope, of other learned monographs which should serve to raise the making of American history to the foremost place in the expectation of European scholars.

Pope used to advise his friends to keep their MSS. nine years before publishing. The collection of documents relating to the high-handed attempt of James II. to Romanise the University of Oxford, and the vacillation of the authorities of Magdalen College between obedience to their conscience and their King, have surely arrived at maturity. Having waited forty years for public opinion to develop itself, Dr. BLOXAM has published his researches in the Transactions of the Oxford Historical Society.[2]

[1] *The Clinton Cornwallis Controversy, or the Campaign in Virginia*, 1781. By B. F. Stevens. 2 vols. London, 1888.

[2] *Magdalen College and King James II.*, 1686–1688. A series of documents collected and edited by the Rev. J. R. Bloxam, D.D., late Fellow of Magdalen College. With additions. Oxford (printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press), 1886.

During this time much has occurred to cultivate an interest in historical subjects. Lord Macaulay's History of this and the following reign has, by its brilliancy of style, in spite of numerous inaccuracies, extended the desire for information, a desire which has also, in a minor degree, been stimulated by Mr. Frowde's brief for Henry VIII. and the Reformation. A careful perusal of this volume will lead to the conclusion that the account in the eighth chapter of Macaulay's History, full as it is of flowers of rhetoric, is, upon the whole, a fair summing up of the case and not a mere piece of special pleading, as Macaulay's well-known political views and persuasive eloquence might lead us at first to suspect. If, however, it be granted that the action of James was that of a tyrant and a violator of established rights, that of the fellows was hardly unexceptional. A vein of feebleness and indecision seems to run through their proceedings. Bishop Levinz, the first candidate selected for the presidentship, accepted the honour, with its accompanying duty of resistance to the King. But a letter from his brother sufficed to make him shrink back into his shell. Then, having appointed Hough their president, it was their duty to support him with the last drop of their blood. But their resistance was half-hearted, and their partial submission was looked upon with contempt by the other colleges. Indeed, had it not been for the further blind infatuation of the King, which nullified their submission, Magdalen College would have gone down to posterity, not as identified with the struggle for civil and religious liberty, but as a synonym for a conveniently elastic conscience (No. 210. Smith's Diary. 'Magdalen College Conscience'). Even in their defence they are careful to assure the King that 'a stubborn and groundless resistance to the Royal will and pleasure is that which their souls eternally abhor' (No. 113. Address to His Majesty at Bath). But it was especially the weak-kneed behaviour of Thomas Smith—who endeavoured to temporise and to keep out of the way on every important occasion—and of Bishop Parker—who allowed himself to be the tool of James in his lawless proceedings—which encouraged that monarch in his assumption of Divine Right, and caused him, lulled into a fatal security through the appearance of loyalty in his subjects, to persist in his fatal career. There is just one weak point in the evidence against James which the documents do not entirely clear up. This is the possibility that the Earl of Sunderland intercepted the petition sent by the college to the King before

the election of Hough. The evidence of Sunderland himself is entirely untrustworthy, and his character certainly does not place it outside the range of possibility. His subsequent career would suggest that he might even have acted thus purposely to hasten James's downfall. For students of history wishing to obtain a full and impartial account of this important crisis the publication of these documents (311 in all) is invaluable. The work contains a comprehensive index. The Introduction is by the Rev. H. R. Bramley, Fellow of Magdalen.

Of a very different character is Mr. SYKES's 'Studies of French History.'[1] This is a small series of light but thoughtful essays on what we may call the corresponding period in the life of the French nation. They are divided into 'The Eighteenth Century,' 'The Restoration,' 'The Reign of Louis Philippe,' and 'The Second Empire.' The series gives a kind of panoramic view of events from the fall of the Monarchy in 1789 to that of the Empire in 1870. Mr. SYKES does justice to the tact and wisdom of Louis XVIII., and carefully works out the bearings of the so-called reaction which brought him to the throne. The word *reaction* as applied to this period is certainly a misnomer. A change from Imperial despotism to a constitutional Monarchy under a wise and peaceful monarch, though a Bourbon, is not a reaction, but a progressive movement towards an advanced and enlightened Liberalism. In reality there were three reactions during this period. The first was the reaction from Republicanism to Imperialism under Napoleon I. The second was the reaction from constitutional Monarchy to clerical Monarchy under Charles X. The third was the reaction from Republicanism to Imperialism the second time under Napoleon III. Of these three the second was, perhaps, the least pernicious in its ultimate results. Few monarchs have ascended a throne under greater disadvantages than Louis XVIII., and few have more judiciously surmounted them. The nation was impoverished and humiliated by the defeat at Waterloo; her credit was gone, while the King himself, old and feeble in body, had neither military capacity nor reputation, nor, indeed, any of those brilliant qualities calculated to impress a people like the French. Yet by sheer force of a superior intellect and a humane spirit he gained the love and esteem of the people and restored the credit and prosperity of the country. And that it was the King himself and not his ministers who exerted the chief influence is shown by the anxiety of the clericalists for his

[1] *Studies of French History.* By Joseph Sykes. Brighton.

death, and the reaction which set in when it occurred. 'Take care of the Crown for the sake of that child' (the Comte de Chambord), were the last words he uttered, and in a few years the bigot Charles had lost it for himself and his line for ever, and had undone, by his egotistic blindness, the work of his brother's life. The parallel with the career of James II. is striking. The last of the Stuarts and the last of the Bourbons both lost their crowns by their bigotry, their shortsightedness, and their egotism. In both cases it was the *ex officio* loyalty of their subjects which blinded their eyes and lured them on to their destruction. The flattery which kings receive at the hands of believers in Divine Right is fatal to them unless they have either the intellect to discount it or the will-power to support it.

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Richards, Charles A., 2 Manor Road, Stoke Newington, N.
Richardson, Captain J. G. F., Ph.D., J.P., Elmfield, Knighton, Leicester.
Rider, William, 14 Bartholomew Close, E.C.
Robinson, Rev. A. Dalgarno, M.A., St. Clement's Vicarage, Kensington, W.
Robinson, James, Hardingstone Villa, Evington Street, Leicester.
Robinson, William, Mount Pleasant, Wembdon, Bridgewater.
Rodocanachi, Emmanuel P., 8 Avenue Hoche, Paris.
Rodway, A. J., Aston Hall, Birmingham.
Rolfe, Rev. Frederick William, St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, W.
Ropes, Arthur Read, M.A., King's College, Cambridge.

Ropes, J. C., 99 Mount Vernon, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
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Rose, John Holland, M.A., Aboyne, Bedford Hill Road, Balham.
Rose, Josiah, 3 Carson Road, West Dulwich, S.E.
* Rosebery, The Earl of, Lansdowne House, W.
Ross, Frederick, 137 Huddlestone Road, Tufnell Park, N.W.
Rowley, Rev. Adam Clarke, M.A., Sutterton Vicarage, Spalding.
Rusby, James, 18 Oppidan's Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
Russell, James Mercer, Coleraine, Co. Londonderry.
Russell, John.
* Russel, Hon. Rollo, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond, Surrey.
* Ryder, Charles, The Brewery, Leeds.
Rymer, Samuel Lee, J.P., Pevensey, Wellesley Road, Croydon.

* Safford, John Burham, F.G.S., Maidstone.
Sampson, Thomas, Start Villa, Huddlestone Road, Willesden Green.
Samarth, Rajmanya Rajashri Vasudev Madhav, B.A., M.R.A.S.
Sanders, Samuel, 7 De Vere Gardens, Kensington Palace, W.
Satya Chandra Mukerji, B.A., 63 Puddapooker Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.
Saunders, C. T., 20 Temple Row, Birmingham.
Saunders, W. H. Bernard, 13 Albion Terrace, Oundle Road, Peterborough.
Savery, George Mearns, M.A., The College, Harrogate.
Saywell, Rev. J. L.
Scattergood, Peter, Jun., Nottingham Road, Stapleford, Notts.
Seals, E., School-house, Clarborough, Retford.
Seath, Thomas B., Sunnyoaks, Langbank, Renfrewshire.
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Shannon, John Strangman, Principal of St. Martin's School, York.
Sharp, J. Fox, The Park, Hull.
Sharples, George, Central Higher Grade Schools, Leeds.
Shaw, Giles, 72 Manchester Street, Oldham.
SHENTON, FRANCIS KINGSTON J., Literary Department, Crystal Palace, Norwood.
Shepherd, Rev. Enoch.
Shettle, Rev. George T., L.A., Aldbourne, R.S.O., Wilts.
Shields, Rev. Thomas Todhunter.
Shŷamal Dâss, Kavi Raja, M.R.A.S., Poet Laureate and Member of the Mahad Raj Sabha of Meywar, Oodeypore, India.
Sibbald, John Gordon Edward, Admiralty, Spring Gardens, and 3 Townshend Villas, Richmond, Surrey.
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Silvers, Albert John, Pelsall, Walsall, Staffordshire.
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Smith, G. Barnett, Cuba Cottage, Bickerton Road, N.
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Smith, T. Eustace, 12 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
* Smith, W. Bickford, Trevarno, Helston, Cornwall.
Smith, W. F.
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Spray, William F., Board School, Stone Broom, Alfreton.
Stack, G. A., Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta; Editor of the *Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, India.

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Stephens, H. Morse.
STEVENS, B. F., 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
Stevens, David M'Cluer.
* Stewart, General Alexander P., LL.D., Oxford, Miss., U.S.A.
Stewart, Rev. John, Penryn, Cornwall.
Stockdale, Thomas, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
Stone, H. J., Principal of the Royal Normal School, Madras, India.
Stone, James Hy., Cavendish House, Grosvenor Road, Handsworth, Staffordshire.
Stopes, H., F.G.S., F.L.S., Kenwyn, Cintra Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.
Stryker, General William J., Adjutant-General of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Stuart, Lieut.-Col. W., Tempsford Hall, Sandy, Bedfordshire.
Stubbs, S., 269 Hampstead Road, N.W.
* Sturgis, Julian Russell, 17 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
Sulley, Philip, 48 Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
Surr, Watson, 28 Threadneedle Street, E.C.
Sutton, Rev. Frederick O., Parish Church, Blackburn.
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Taggart, Rev. T. A., 15 Derby Square, Douglas, Isle of Man.
Taylor, George.
* Taylor, Miss Helen, Avignon, France.
Taylor, John, c/o John Whitehead, Esq., Manorhill, Makerston, Kelso, N.B.
* Teele, Rev. Albert K., D.D., Milton, Mass., U.S.A.
Tempany, Thomas William, Sheen Park, Richmond, Surrey.
Thornely, Thomas, M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
THORNTON, Rev. ROBINSON, D.D. (Oxon), Vicar of St. John's, Notting Hill; Boyle Lecturer; Vice-President of the Victoria Institute; 65 Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, W.
Toplis, Miss Sophia Grace, 202 Camden Road, N.W.
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Travis-Cook, John, 14 Parliament Street, Hull.
* Turton, Robert Bell, 11 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, and 7c Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.

Udal, John Symonds, 3 Marlborough Place, St. John's Wood.
Urquhart, Harold, W., Mona Villa, Church Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
Urwick, Rev. W., M.A., 49 Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.

Ventura, M., 18 Coleman Street, E.C.
Vincent, J. A., Needham Market, Suffolk.
Vos-per-Thomas, Rev. Samuel, West Parley Curacy, Wimborne, Dorset.

Wadling, Henry, Lamb Buildings, Temple, E.C.
* Wagner, Henry, F.S.A., 13 Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, W.
Wakefield, Rev. Henry Russell, The Vicarage, Sandgate, Kent.
Walford, Edward, M.A., 7 Hyde Park Mansions, Edgware Road, W.
Walford, John Edward, C.C., Knightrider Street, E.C.
* Walker, Fountaine (of Foyers), Ness Castle, Inverness.
* Walker, Robert, F.R.G.S., Woodside, Leicester.
Warren, Colonel Sir Charles, R.E., 44 St. George's Road, S.W.
Warner, G. Townsend, B.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.
Waterston, Rev. Robert C., Boston, Mass., United States.

Webb, H. G., 17 St. Ann's Villas, Notting Hill, W.
Weeks, William Self, Littlemoor, Clitheroe.
Welch, Charles, Corporation Library, Guildhall, E.C.
Wellwood, Rev. Nathaniel, Danforth, near Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
West, James, Storrington, Sussex.
* Westminster, The Duke of, K.G., Grosvenor House, W.
* Whatton, J. S., 9 Somers Place, Hyde Park, W.
Whitcher, John, 5 Chalcot Gardens, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
* White, Right Hon. Sir William Arthur, G.C.M.G., C.B., LL.D., British Embassy, Constantinople.
White, William, 57 Albert Hall Mansions, Kensington Gore, W.
Whitehead, The Rt. Hon. James, Lord Mayor, Mansion House, E.C.
* Whitehead, Rev. J. H., M.A., Alderley Edge, Cheshire.
Wilkins, Rev. J., M.L.L.S.
Wilkinson, Alfred, 13 Coulson Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Williams, E. P., 3 Essex Villas, Watcombe Park, Blackheath, S.E.
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Williams, Richard, Celynog, Newtown, North Wales.
Williamson, George Charles, Dunstansbeorh, Guildford, Surrey.
Williamson, John M., Melville House, Overhill Road, Dulwich, S.E.
Winters, William, Churchyard, Waltham Abbey, Essex.
Wonnacott, J., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Wadham House, Liskeard, Cornwall.
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Woodford, Rev. Adolphus F.
Woodhouse, Alderman S., 50 High Street, Hull.
Woodroffe, Prof. Latham James, M.A., 81 Waterloo Road, Dublin.
Worsnop, Thomas, Adelaide.
Wright, Bryce M'Murdo, F.R.G.S., 26 Sairle Row, W.
Wright, W. H. K., Free Library, Plymouth.
Wurtzburg, John Henry, Clavering House, 2 De Gray Road, Leeds.
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Wyles, Thomas, F.G.S., The College, Buxton.

Yates, James, Public Library, Leeds.
Young, Miss Ernestine C., High School for Girls, 5 Portland Place, Bath.
Young, Herbert Edward, Harbour Street, Ramsgate.

ZERFFI, GUSTAVUS GEORGE, Ph.D., F.R.S.L., 3 Warrington Gardens, Maida Hill, W.
Zerffi, Henry Charles, 21 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park, W.

The Council request that any inaccuracy in the foregoing list may be pointed out to the Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

MEMBERS AFFILIATED TO THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH.

Rev. E. J. Austin, 7 Hazelwood Road, Northampton.
L. J. Maxse, 17 Wetherby Gardens, S.W.
H. Simpson, St. John's College, Cambridge.
L. R. Tanner, Clare College, Cambridge.

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Allibone, S. Austin, LL.D., Lenox Library, Central Park, New York.
Bishop, Levi, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.
Brock, R. A., Richmond, Virginia.
Broglie, Le Duc de, Rue Solferino, Paris.
Cooke, Samuel, M.A., F.G.S., Poona, India.
Delisle, Léopold, Membre de l'Institut, Administrateur Général de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Drowne, Henry T., President New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 52 Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.
Drowne, Rev. T. Stafford, D.D., Gordon City, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
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Lee, G. H., St. John, New Brunswick.
Litton, Hon. Robert T., K.C.R., Hon. Sec. Historical Society of Australasia, 17 Queen Street, Melbourne.
de Maulde, M., Secrétaire général de la Société d'Histoire diplomatique, 10 Boulevard Raspail, Paris.
Morris, Rev. John G., D.D., Baltimore, U.S.A.
O'Reilly, P. S., St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.
Phillips, Henry, Jun., Ph.D., 304 South 11th Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Prendergast, John, Dublin.
Ravenill, H.E., Charleston, South Carolina, U.S.A.
Sorel, Albert, Sénat, Présidence, Paris.
Stone, Rev. E. M., Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
Taine, Henri, 23 Rue Cassette, Paris.
Whitehead, W., Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Williams, J. F., St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

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Her Majesty the Empress of Brazil.
His Majesty Leopold II., King of the Belgians.
His Majesty Oscar II., King of Sweden and Norway.
Bismarck, Prince von, H.E.
Agnew, J. W., M.D., Royal Society of Tasmania.
Bancroft, Hon. George, Washington, U.S.A.
Bell, Hon. Charles H., President of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Exeter, New Hampshire.
* Bogoushevsky, The Baron Nicholas Casimir de, Pskow, Russia.
Bowring, Lady, Exeter.
Bytschkoff, His Excellency Athanasius Th. de, Director of the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg.
Calderari, Rev. Giulio Casare.
Cameron, Commander Verney Lovett, C.B., 1 Savile Row, W.
Coelho, Lieut.-Colonel Jose Maria Latino, Professor of Geology, Lisbon.
Crombie, Rev. J. M., F.L.S., 188 Cornwall Road, W.
Dalrymple, Rev. E. A., D.D., Sec. Hist. Society of Maryland, U.S.A.
Dana, Edward S., Ph.D., Academy of Arts and Sciences, Connecticut, U.S.A.
Ewell, The Very Rev. Benjamin S., Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.
Fayrer, Sir Joseph, K.C.S.I., F.R.S., Athenæum Club, London, S.W.
Froude, James Anthony, LL.D., Onslow Gardens, S.W.
Gorostiraga, Don Angel de, National Archæological Society, Madrid.

Guasti, Professor Cesare, Keeper of the State Archives of Tuscany.
Jones, Hon. Horatio Gates, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Kip, The Right Rev. Bishop, San Francisco.
Latour, Major L. A. H., M.A., 36 McGill College Avenue, Montreal.
Liagre, Major-General J. B. J., Royal Society of Fine Arts, Brussels.
Liversidge, Professor A., Royal Society of New South Wales, Sydney, N.S.W.
Méldahl, Herr, President of the Royal Academy of Arts, Copenhagen.
Montelius, Herr Dr. Oscar, Society of Antiquaries, Sweden.
Montjau, M. Edouard M. de, Society of Ethnography, Paris.
Nares, Captain Sir George, K.C.B., F.R.S., 5 Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, S.W.
Oppert, M. Julius, Professor of Assyrian Philology and Archæology in the College of France.
Pomialovsky, His Excellency Professor John B., Imperial University, St. Petersburg.
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Rawlinson, Rev. Canon, M.A., Camden Professor of History, Oxford.
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Roberts, General Sir Frederick, United Service Club, S.W.
Schliemann, Dr.
Schliemann, Mrs.
Sémevsky, His Excellency Michael Jv. de, Councillor of State, St. Petersburg, Russia.
Siegel, Dr. Heinrich, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.
Sigurdsson, Herr Jon, Archivarius, Copenhagen.
Slafter, Rev. Edmund F., A.M., New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston.
Stanley, Henry M., F.R.G.S., London.
Stephens, Dr. George, Professor of English Literature, 1 Bianco Luno's Allé, Copenhagen.
Stephenson, J., President of the Historical Society, Quebec.
Stieda, His Excellency Professor Dr. Ludwig, Königsberg University, Germany.
Stubbs, Right Rev. Bishop, D.D.
Waxel, Platon L. de, Ph.D., St. Petersburg.
Wilson, Daniel, LL.D., Professor of History in the College of Toronto.
Winthrop, Hon. Robert C., LL.D., President of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

FOREIGN ASSOCIATIONS

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

The Royal Society of New South Wales.

AUSTRIA.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Académie royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.

BOHEMIA.

The Royal Society of Bohemia, Prague.

CANADA.

L'Institut Canadien-français d'Ottawa.
Geological and Natural History Survey Museum, Ottawa.
The Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

DENMARK.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Société d'Ethnographie, 28 Rue Mazarine, Paris.

GERMANY.

The Historical Society of Berlin.

ITALY.

The State Archives of Tuscany.
British and American Archæological Society of Rome, 76 Via della Croce, Rome.

PORTUGAL.

The Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

RUSSIA.

The Imperial Archæological Society, St. Petersburg.

SPAIN.

The Royal Historical Society, Madrid.
The National Archæological Society, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities, Stockholm.

TASMANIA.

The Royal Society of Tasmania.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
The Historical Society of New York, 170 Second Avenue, New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
The Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Connecticut.
The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.
The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
The Historical Society of Rhode Island, Providence, R.I.
The Historical Society of Virginia, Richmond.
The Historical Society of Maryland, Baltimore.
The Historical Society of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.
The Historical Society of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota.
The Historical Society of South Carolina.
The Historical Society of Vermont.
The Historical Society of Michigan.
The Historical Society of New Jersey.
The Historical Society of Maine.
Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., care of E. G. Allen, 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

LIBRARIES TO WHICH THE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS ARE PRESENTED.

Mason Science College, Birmingham.
South Kensington Museum.
Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W.
Historical School, Cambridge, c/o O. Browning, King's College, Cambridge.
Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.

Royal Historical Society,

11 Chandos Street,

Cavendish Square, W.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

SESSION 1886–7.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society, in presenting their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows, believe that they can point to a year of steady progress in carrying out the objects of the Society. In pursuance of the second and fifth objects seven Papers have been read at the Monthly Meetings dealing with very different periods of Ancient and Modern History. Captain C. R. Conder, R.E., read a Paper on the 'Historical Connections of the Hittites'; Mr. Stuart Glennie argued in an able address that 'White Races had always been the Founders of the Earliest Civilisations'; Colonel Malleson read a Paper on 'Vercingetorix'; Mr. O. C. Pell presented the Society with 'A New View of the Geldable Unit of Taxation in Domesday Book,' a Paper which is published in the Proceedings of the Domesday Commemoration. Passing to more modern times, Mr. Oscar Browning gave a general view of the struggle between England on the one hand and the French Revolution and Napoleon on the other; while Mr. C. A.

FYFFE read a Paper on 'The Progress of the European Reaction from 1815 to 1820,' drawn from Unpublished Sources; the first object of the Society 'To promote and foster the Study of History on General and Scientific Principles' was vindicated by Prof. CREIGHTON's Paper on 'Historical Ethics.'

The Society, for reasons which will afterwards appear, did not issue a volume of Transactions this year.

At the Cambridge Branch of the Society two Papers were read, one, 'A Note upon the Speech of Queen Elizabeth,' by Mr. G. W. PROTHERO, containing an important correction of Froude; and the other by Mr. A. R. ROPES, 'Early Explorations of America, Real and Imaginary.' Both these Papers have since been published in *The English Historical Review*.

The first object of the Society has been further advanced by a new departure of which it is hoped that the Fellows will approve. In answer to a request from some practical teachers a Conference was held on October 22, 1887, in the large room of the Society of Arts, on 'The Teaching of History in Schools.' The great hall was crowded to excess. It was stated by those best qualified to judge to be the largest meeting ever got together for the discussion of an educational question. Prof. CREIGHTON presided, and an address on 'The Teaching of History in Schools' was delivered by Mr. OSCAR BROWNING. A most interesting discussion followed, in which many distinguished teachers took a part. As the audience was composed chiefly of Head Masters and Mistresses at many of our leading schools and others engaged in education, it may be hoped that the Conference will have given a stimulus to the thorough study of history in English schools. A copy of the Proceedings of the Conference, together with the address delivered, has been sent to each Fellow; additional copies may be obtained through any bookseller at the price of 1*s*.

The Society has this year for the first time taken steps to effect its third object—that of the publication of rare and valuable State Papers. A volume containing the Despatches of Lord Whitworth and others during the period of the Peace of Amiens, edited by Mr. OSCAR BROWNING, has been issued to the Fellows, and

published by Messrs. Longmans, under the title of 'England and Napoleon in 1803.' The cost of producing this work has prevented the Society from printing its annual volume of Transactions, which, however, it is hoped will be continued in future years without interruption. Should the sale of this volume prove satisfactory, the power of the Society to proceed further in the same direction will be materially increased. It is hoped that Fellows of the Society will do their best to make the publication known. The English Record Office teems with documents of the highest value to the historical and political student, the publication of which cannot be left to private enterprise, but can only be undertaken by the State or by Societies like our own.

Two objects remain which the Society has as yet been compelled to neglect—the fifth and the seventh ; one the publication of translations of standard historical works, and the other the granting from time to time of prizes for Historical Essays. These objects cannot be undertaken without larger funds. There are many works, especially in German, of the deepest interest to English students, which are at present almost unknown in this country from not being translated. Among these may be mentioned Pauli's two Histories of England, Onno Klopp's 'History of the Fall of the House of Stuart,' Noorden's 'History of the Eighteenth Century,' the best account which has yet appeared of the Reign of Queen Anne and of the Campaigns of Marlborough, and Sybel's later volumes of the 'History of the French Revolution.' These are largely drawn from English archives, but have as yet exercised but little influence over English historical writers.

It has been suggested that the seventh object might best be carried out by encouraging the scientific study of history at schools. History now receives adequate attention at our Universities. The best way of effecting this is commended to the attention of the Fellows of the Society.

In common with other Royal Societies, our Society presented an Address to Her Majesty the Queen on the occasion of her Jubilee, which Her Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

During the session nineteen new Fellows have been elected, nine have died, and twenty-four have resigned. The subjoined

table will show that the Society consisted of thirteen fewer members on October 31, 1887, than it did on the corresponding date of the previous year. Notwithstanding this apparent decrease, the Council believe that the Society is gradually growing in strength and reputation, and is attracting to itself an increasingly large number of distinguished and earnest historical students. Among the additions to the Society in the past year are found the names of Sir William White, K.C.M.G., the British Ambassador at Constantinople; Major-General Cunningham, K.C.I.E., and the distinguished Oriental scholar, Professor Rhys Davids.

	Oct. 31, 1886.	Oct. 31, 1887.
Ordinary Fellows	440	423
Life do.	88	91
Ex-Officio do.	2	2
Honorary do.	61	61
Corresponding do.	23	24
Total	614	601

During the Session the following Fellows of the Society died: J. Atwool, E. M. Boyle, C. Grewingk, Prof. F. Guthrie, Rev. D. S. Halkett, J. Heap, Dr. K. King, Rev. T. W. Mossman, A. M. Silver.

During the present Session the Council adopted a plan of providing for the fifth object of the Society, the reading of Papers at the Monthly Meetings. A circular was sent to each Fellow, asking for the title of any Paper which he was prepared to read, and the date at which he proposed to read it. The answers received were less numerous than could be wished, but the list of Papers now in the hands of Fellows for the Session 1887–1888 is one of which the Society has no reason to be ashamed. The Council earnestly desires that Fellows will make a more ready response to this invitation, which will be repeated every year. The Council cannot, of course, promise that every Paper should be read even in abstract, but they engage that all Papers sent to them by Fellows shall be carefully examined and reported upon.

The Council append the Treasurer's receipts and payments, from the date of the last account, 31st October, 1886, to 31st October, 1887, and also the capital account.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

A Summary of all Moneys Received and Paid by him on behalf of the Society from 1st November, 1886, to 31st October, 1887.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions				480	19	8
Sale of Transactions				3	1	7
				£484	1	3

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward				7	1	4
Postages, &c. outstanding, Oct. 31, 1886				8	4	9
London Medical Society, Rent				40	0	0
Secretary: Salary				150	0	0
Office				25	0	0
W. E. Poole:						
Librarian's Salary	10	0	0			
Refreshments at Meetings, &c.	10	10	5			
				20	10	5
F. Algar: Advertisements				10	16	0
Spottiswoode & Co.:						
Printing Transactions, &c.				101	4	1
Judd & Co.: Printing				6	0	0
Whitehead & Co.: Stationery				3	17	0
Mrs. Hubbard: Index to Vol. III.				6	6	0
A. Chapple: Shorthand Note				1	1	0
W. R. Thomas: Engrossing Address to the Queen				1	3	0
Subscriptions to Societies				7	4	0
Postages and Petty Expenditure				22	0	7
Bank Charges and Postages				4	4	4
Subscriptions (twice paid) refunded				3	3	0
Two-thirds of Life Subscriptions transferred to Capital Account				42	0	0
Balance				24	5	9
				£484	1	3

Examined and found correct, (Signed) R. HOVENDEN, WALTER HAMILTON, HUBERT HALL, } *Auditors.*

January 25, 1888.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Oct. 31, 1886.				Oct. 31, 1887.			
Balance	139	13	9	Retransferred to revenue account . . .	10	10	0
Two-thirds of Life Subscriptions . . .	42	0	0	Balance	174	3	11
Interest	3	0	2				
	£184	13	11		£184	13	11

We certify that the Bankers' Deposit Ledger was produced to us, showing £174. 3*s*. 11*d*. to the credit of the Royal Historical Society.

(Signed) R. HOVENDEN,
WALTER HAMILTON, } *Auditors.*
HUBERT HALL,

January 25, 1888.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's Accounts report:

That they have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1886, to October 31, 1887, and find them correct, showing the receipts to have been £484. 1*s*. 3*d*., and the payments (including £42 transferred to the Capital Account) £459. 15*s*. 6*d*., leaving a balance on October 31, 1887, of £24. 5*s*. 9*d*., in favour of the Society.

(Signed) R. HOVENDEN,
WALTER HAMILTON, } *Auditors.*
HUBERT HALL,

January 25, 1888.

Lastly, the Council append the Secretary's Financial Statement of the Assets and Liabilities of the Society on the 31st of October, 1887.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES *on* 31*st October*, 1887.

1887.	£	s.	d.	1887.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 31.				Oct. 31.			
Balance on revenue account	24	5	9	Spottiswoode & Co. . .	46	1	5
Outstanding subscriptions: £106. 5*s*., say 50 per cent. recoverable . .	53	2	6	Printing and distributing 'England and Napoleon in 1803'	120	18	11
Balance of publishers' account	7	8	1				
Balance	82	4	0				
	£167	0	4		£167	0	4

(Signed) P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary.*

January 19, 1888.

In conclusion, they ask the Fellows of the only Historical Society existing in England to give their best support to its labours, both by personal efforts, in forwarding the objects of the Society, and especially by providing the Society with new and competent members. They are confident that if these efforts are made, the Society will hold a position inferior to none of the other Royal Societies, which, although they may point to a longer term of existence, have not within their scope so vast and interesting a field of labour. The Council wish that there could be a larger attendance of Fellows and their friends at the Monthly Meetings, and that some occasion could be provided, perhaps at the Annual General Meeting, when Fellows might meet together for friendly and instructive intercourse.

By Order of the Council,

(Signed) ABERDARE, *President.*
OSCAR BROWNING, *Chairman.*
P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary.*

Royal Historical Society,

11 Chandos Street,

Cavendish Square, W.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

SESSION 1887–8.

THE COUNCIL have much pleasure in presenting to the General Meeting of the Fellows their Annual Report of the past Session.

The Papers read at the Monthly Meetings were:

1. 'Hugh Elliot at Berlin,' by Oscar Browning, M.A.

2. 'The Commercial Policy of Edward III.,' by the Rev. W. Cunningham, B.D.

3. 'Austria as the Central Factor in the European Movement of 1848,' by C. A. Fyffe, M.A.

4. 'Historic Genealogy,' by H. E. Malden, M.A.

5. 'The Causes of the Seven Years' War,' by A. R. Ropes, M.A.

6. 'The Despatches of Prince Henry of Monmouth during the War in Wales (1402–1405), and the Treaty of Surrender by the Welsh Chieftains,' by F. Solly Flood, Q.C.

7. 'Historical Evidence and Information gathered from the Traders' Tokens of the Seventeenth Century and from the Minor Currency,' illustrated by a collection of tokens by G. C. Williamson, M.Num.S.

These papers, with some others from the preceding Session, will be published in Vol. IV. of the Society's 'Transactions,' the issue of which has been unavoidably delayed.

The Cambridge Branch held two Meetings during the Session. The Papers read were :

1. 'Hugh Elliot at Berlin,' by OSCAR BROWNING, M.A.

2. 'The Causes of the Seven Years' War,' by A. R. ROPES, M.A.

In terms of Rule V. the two retiring Vice-Presidents are :

C. A. Fyffe, M.A.,
W. E. H. Lecky, M.A. ;

and the four retiring Members of Council :

Rev. W. Cunningham, B.D.,
H. E. Malden, M.A.,
F. K. J. Shenton,
Rev. R. Thornton, D.D.

The Council recommend that these be re-elected.

During the session forty-six new Fellows have been elected, eighteen have died, and seventeen have resigned. The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll :

	Oct. 31, 1887.	Oct. 31, 1888.
Ordinary Fellows	423	434
Life do.	91	91
Ex-Officio do.	2	2
Honorary do.	61	59
Corresponding do.	24	24
Total	601	610

The Fellows who died during the Session were : C. J. Allen, J. J. Ashworth, T. Cardwell, A. Cochrane, Rev. H. H. Davies, M.A., Rev. W. E. Dutton, R. H. Eddy, J. Jereczek, J. W. Lea, Prof. Otis F. Manson, M.A., J. J. Moss, W. D. Paine, F. Solly Flood, Q.C., E. Story, M.A., Rev. E. Tew, M.A., G. V. Vernon, T. Ward, and Rev. F. LeGrix White, M.A.

The Council append the Treasurer's account of receipts and payments from the date of the last account, the 31st of October, 1887, to the 31st of October, 1888, and also the Capital Account.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

A Summary of all Moneys Received and Paid by him on behalf of the Society from November 1, 1887, *to October* 31, 1888.

	£	s.	d.
Balance	24	5	9
Subscriptions	504	0	0
Sale of Transactions	7	8	1
	£535	13	10

	£	s.	d.
O. Browning, share (one-half) of profits on 'England and Napoleon in 1803'	20	0	0
London Medical Society, Rent	20	0	0
Secretary: Salary	150	0	0
Office	25	0	0
F. Algar: Advertisements of Meetings	7	9	6
Spottiswoode & Co.: Printing 'England and Napoleon in 1803,' &c.	167	0	4
Whitehead & Co.: Stationery	6	12	4
Prince & Baugh: do.	2	17	6
Subscriptions to Societies	7	4	0
Postages and Petty Expenditure	18	16	1
Bank Charges and Postages	4	17	10
Two-thirds of Life Subscriptions transferred to Capital Account	56	0	0
Balance	49	16	3
	£535	13	10

Examined and found correct, (Signed) WALTER HAMILTON, R. HOVENDEN, G. H. OVEREND, } *Auditors.*

February 5, 1889.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Oct. 31, 1887.				Oct. 31, 1888.			
Balance	174	3	11				
Two-thirds of Life Subscriptions	56	0	0	Balance	233	10	6
Interest	3	6	7				
	£233	10	6		£233	10	6

We certify that the Bankers' Deposit Ledger was produced to us, showing £233. 10*s.* 6*d.* to the credit of the Royal Historical Society.

(Signed) WALTER HAMILTON,
R. HOVENDEN,
G. H. OVEREND, } *Auditors.*

February 5, 1889.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's Accounts report:

That they have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1887, to October 31, 1888, and find them correct, showing the receipts to have been £535. 13*s.* 10*d.* and the payments (including £56 transferred to the Capital Account) £485. 17*s.* 7*d.*, leaving a balance on October 31, 1888, of £49. 16*s.* 3*d.* in favour of the Society.

(Signed) WALTER HAMILTON,
R. HOVENDEN,
G. H. OVEREND, } *Auditors.*

February 5, 1889.

Lastly, the Council append the Secretary's Financial Statement of the Assets and Liabilities of the Society on the 31st of October, 1888, which shows the continued improvement in the Society's financial condition.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
on October 31, 1888.

1888.	£	s.	d.	1888.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 31.				Oct. 31.			
Balance on revenue account	49	16	3	Rent	20	0	0
Outstanding subscriptions:				W. E. Poole . . .	19	6	3
£121. 16*s.*, say 50 per cent. recoverable . .	60	18	0	Spottiswoode & Co. .	78	11	2
Balance of publishers' account	55	7	3	Balance in favour of the Society . . .	48	4	1
	£166	1	6		£166	1	6

(Signed) P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary.*

January 17, 1889.

By Order of the Council.

(Signed) ABERDARE, *President.*
O. BROWNING, *Chairman.*
P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary.*

Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square London

PUBLISHED ANNUALLY.

Dedicated, by permission, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

Price 50s., elegantly bound,

THE

COUNTY FAMILIES

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM

OR

ROYAL MANUAL OF THE TITLED AND UNTITLED ARISTOCRACY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By EDWARD WALFORD, M.A.

From "The Times."

It is told of King James I. that, when his old nurse entreated him to make her son a gentleman, he replied that he could make "him a lord, but that it was out of his power to make him a gentleman." But what our first Stuart King found it so impossible to do, Mr. Walford does wholesale with the utmost ease. Witness this formidable volume, which sweeps the Three Kingdoms with a net of the finest mesh, bringing in fish of all sizes and ages, some of which, had he been liberal, he would, in imitation of good fishermen, have tossed back again until they had grown older and of a more legitimate weight and size. In this country, however, the possession of land is a passion. The successful lawyer, physician, manufacturer, or merchant, after the toil of life is over, seeks to build up a family that shall flourish and hand his name down to posterity. The titled, or landed, aristocracy are recruited from these sources. New men invigorate the blood of the old families. Were it not for this arrangement, nobility would speedily die out from among us. For it must be remembered that it is not with us as with many foreign aristocracies, which transmit their titles to all their children indiscriminately. Here the grandchild of every Duke, Marquis, Earl, &c.,

becomes a plain untitled gentleman, falls back into the mass of Commoners, and becomes incorporated with them. It is only necessary to compare the editions of these volumes year by year to see the numbers of names that drop out in every new issue, to be as often replaced by perfectly new men. It is this constant circulation of human atoms which keeps the Upper Ten Thousand from degenerating into a mere caste, with interests antagonistic to those of the other sections of the community. This is the best excuse for Mr. Walford's liberal admission of names that seem to push for places in his social Valhalla with a too vulgar earnestness.

It is curious to note the successive enlargements of late years with respect to the make-up of our Golden Book. The old Peerages gave only the Peers; Sir B. Burke added to them the Baronets; Dod descended to the Knights; and in this volume titled and untitled are mixed together in one alphabet. We all of us respect any name that is to be found on the Roll of Battle Abbey, but it is well known to genealogists and heralds that even that noble roll was adulterated, the monks of that age having felt no more compunction of conscience at slipping in a name to please the powerful and great of the day, than would the seal-engraver at giving a *parvenu* any number of quarterings on his coat-of-arms he may be willing to pay for. We are afraid the desire to strike a deep tap-root into past ages is too tempting an occupation to be confined to any age or class. How many of our leading Peers, for instance, have managed to graft themselves on to ancient stocks? The Percy is a Smithson, Paget is a Baily; Marlborough is a Spencer, not a Churchill; Coke, Earl of Leicester, is not a Coke, but a Roberts. The Wellesleys were Colleys until 1728; Earl Ducie is not a Moreton, but a Reynolds. We could go on with scores of names. If we take a survey of the landed gentry, and try them by even a moderate test, we shall find the list shrink up in a marvellous manner. Mr. E. P. Shirley, in his *Noble and Gentle Men of England*, cannot find in England and Wales above 500 real County Families, including Peers and Commoners, who have held their lands by an unbroken tenure in the male line from before the dissolution of the monasteries.

It may be asked, if this is really the case, how have they swelled into the tremendous list which Mr. Walford presents to us? The fact is, the Revolution of 1688 inaugurated a total change in our national feeling as regards heraldry, such as no fresh revolution could undo. This fact Mr. Walford has wisely acknowledged. His book, while it admits every one who has a right to be ranked among our County Families, also gives place to those who are slowly making their right good. While, however, it must be admitted that names at times appear strangely side by side, in alphabetical arrangement, it must be remembered that, as far as noble blood is concerned, the Commoner is often of better descent than the Peer. The Scropes of Yorkshire are but Commoners, but they can show a

pedigree which they believe places them in a higher position than the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earldom of Wilts, created in 1397, which they claim, and which claim is now being tried, if successful, will place Mr. Scrope in the position of Premier Earl. There are, again, many plain Mr. Howards who come of the Norfolk stock. Mr. Walford, in including the Commoners with the Peers in this volume, has therefore by no means encroached upon the privileges or social position of the latter. The Grosvenors were eminent in Normandy before the Conquest, yet 110 years ago they were not Peers, but they were none the less noble on that account. In an heraldic sense the unbroken tenure of land is the basis of true nobility; and the last of the Hampdens, who could proudly write on his tomb, "twenty-third Lord of the Manor of Hampden," needed not the honours of the Peerage to aggrandize his position. On the other hand, we have the authority of Sir B. Burke's *Vicissitudes of Families* for the knowledge that some of the proudest names of the Peerage may now find their representatives among the lower orders of the people. A descendant of the Plantagenets was a short time ago living as a labourer at Kettering. The grand old kingly name has now been shortened to Plant. The descendants of another Royal stock, the Earl of Kent, sixth son of Edward I., are to be found in very humble occupations, One was a butcher at Hales Owen—a Mr. Joseph Smart; the other, Mr. George Wilmot, kept the turnpike-gate at Cooper's-bank, near Dudley. Another descendant of a Royal line was to be found a short time since in Mr. Stephen Penny, the late sexton of St. George's, Hanover Square, who came of the blood of the Duke of Gloucester, fifth son of Edward III. There are numbers of the representatives of fallen greatness we could add to this list.

Taking into consideration the possible claims of many Commoners to Peerages, a record of their descent, such as this book from year to year affords, may be of the utmost importance in a legal point of view. For instance, if the *County Families* had been published 200 years ago, and been continued from year to year, there would have been no Shrewsbury case; for the pedigree of those Talbots who passed into the ranks of the untitled gentry would have been carefully recorded. We may add, too, that the appearance of this volume will render the trade of dealing in false arms and false pedigrees, of late so notorious, a very unprofitable business. A simple register will supersede the action of the law, which in 1597 cropped one W. Dakyn's ears for so offending, and in the Percy case pasted up the Dublin trunkmaker, like one of his own trunks, with a placard denouncing his impudence in falsely claiming the Earldom of Northumberland, in which unpleasant confinement he had to stand in Westminster Hall as a warning to others.

Mr. Walford is evidently as well aware as anyone of the imperfections of this voluminous work, the entry of every name in which involves a statement of from five to fifty facts, and we fully sympathise

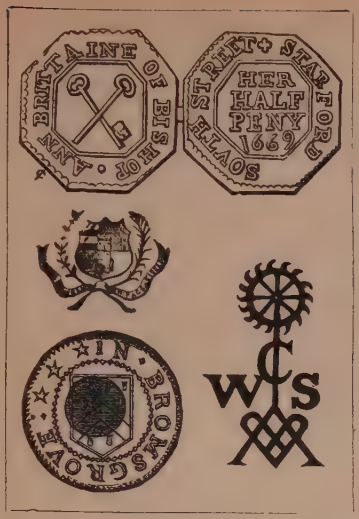
with him when he asks pardon of the public and subscribers for any *errata* which may appear. We observe a cross to too many names, denoting that he has not succeeded in obtaining from those sources returns of matters which, it is unnecessary to observe, are even more important to the owners than to the public. The editor is, at least, entitled to this assistance. The yearly issue of the volume gives every facility for correcting these *errata*, which must involve enormous labour, inasmuch as fluctuating fortunes, births, marriages, and deaths, &c., require the supervision of nearly every line of the one thousand and ninety-seven closely printed pages of which it is composed. In the preface the editor remarks :—

"I am well aware that such a book as this must always remain, in one sense, imperfect in a country like our own, where, mainly owing to the influence of trade and commerce, individuals and families are continually crossing and re-crossing the narrow line which severs the aristocracy from the commonalty. But I can safely promise that, as often as a new edition of *The County Families* shall be called for, the book shall be found in a state more nearly approaching completion by the constant addition of fresh families to the roll of its contents, and by carefully noting the various changes wrought day by day by the silent operation of births, marriages, deaths, and preferments in the families whose names I record."

What would the gossips of old have given for a book which opened to them the recesses of every County Family in the Three Kingdoms—we will not say every recess, for here and there we observe what may be termed the "Blue Beard family cupboard," omissions which are not made, evidently, without very good cause? There are, for example, some awkward blanks of parentage to be found. Very many have no fathers; at all events, none such as they cared to name. In some places the particulars of marriages are omitted, possibly with prudence. This work, however, will serve other purposes besides those of mere curiosity, envy, or malice. It is just the book for the lady of the house to have at hand when making up the County dinner, as it gives exactly that information which punctilious and particular people are so desirous of obtaining—the exact standing of every person in the county. To the business-man, *The County Families* stands in the place of directory and biographical dictionary. The fund of information it affords respecting the Upper Ten Thousand must give it a place in the lawyer's library; and to the money-lender, who is so interested in finding out the difference between a gentleman and a "gent," between heirs-at-law and younger sons, Mr. Walford has been a real benefactor. In this splendid volume he has managed to meet an universal want—one which cannot fail to be felt by the lady in her drawing-room, the peer in his library, the tradesman in his counting-house, and the gentleman in his club. (*April* 1, 1869.)

LONDON: CHATTO & WINDUS, PICCADILLY, W.

Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square, London.



IN THE PRESS.

TRADE TOKENS

Issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland,

BY

CORPORATIONS, MERCHANTS, TRADESMEN, etc.

A NEW AND REVISED EDITION OF WILLIAM BOYNE'S WORK

BY

GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON,

F.R. HIST. SOC.,

F.S.S., F.A.S., F.C.H.S., Memb. Num. Soc., Lond., Corresponding Memb. Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archæologie, Hon. Corr. Memb. American Numismatic and Archæological Society, and of Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL COLLECTORS OF TOKENS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AS EDITORS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTIES.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS PLATES AND WOODCUTS, AND CONTAINING NOTES OF FAMILY, HERALDIC, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL INTEREST RESPECTING THE VARIOUS ISSUERS OF THE TOKENS, AND CONNECTING THEM WITH MANY OF THE IMPORTANT FAMILIES OF THE PRESENT DAY.

THE large and rapid progress made in the science of Numismatics during the past few years has necessitated its division into distinct sections of work, and amongst such sections few have received a greater increase of interest than those relating to the Trade Tokens of the Seventeenth Century.

"Issued by the people they tell of the people, and become imperishable records of that most important estate of the realm," said the late Ll. Jewitt in his tractate on the subject; "and forming important and interesting illustrations of the life of the Seventeenth Century, they have lately received much more of the attention they so thoroughly deserve."

As memorials of a period which was perhaps more important and eventful than any other in English history, these Tokens are acknowledged to be of high value. They circulated in nearly every town in the kingdom, and they bear upon them records of families, companies, buildings, ancient inns, old customs, and many matters of topographical interest. Many of the Tokens were issued by members of the Long Parliament, by lords of manors, mayors and sheriffs, and others bear the signs by which shops and inns were distinguished in that period.

These little tokens being found constantly in all parts of the kingdom are engaging the renewed attention of antiquarian students, and the demand has been frequently made for a standard work upon the subject.

The only important work relating to Seventeenth Century Tokens, save the catalogues of Akerman and Burns, is the celebrated one issued in 1858 by William Boyne, which has become the standard work of reference, and to which all information since issued refers.

This book has been for many years out of print, and copies are both rare and costly, while to the student of tokens it is indispensable, and hence the issue of the present revised and greatly enlarged edition.

Since 1858 much pamphlet and tractate literature has been issued, and many papers have been read before the various County Archæological Societies, describing many hundreds of tokens not named in Boyne, and giving much information regarding their issuers. The work of the editor has been to collect all this literature, and, aided by helpers in every county, to re-arrange it with the information already known.

Many hundreds of typographical and other errors in the previous edition have been corrected, and circulars have been issued to the clergy and others, resulting in the accumulation of many notes relating to the issuers all over the country.

Parish Registers, Muniments of Families, Corporation and Guild Records, Gravestones, Churches, University Records, Conveyances, Wills, Visitations, and the Documents of the British Museum, Record Office, and most local museums have been laid under requisition in order to furnish all possible information as to the family, life, business, character, arms, history, death and burial of the issuers who circulated these memorials of a past age.

In many towns information has been given as to the striking of the tokens, and much light thrown upon their use, value, and necessity. The dulness of a mere catalogue has been avoided, while careful notice of all known varieties of the tokens differing one from the other in even the smallest particulars has been taken, and it is believed that the work will form a most valuable adjunct to county topography, and be of the highest importance to the student of local manners and customs, and of village life and lore. The work has proved so onerous that but for invaluable help it could not have been carried out.

The following well-known collectors have acted as editors for their respective counties, and given invaluable information:—

In Bedfordshire	J. H. Blundell, Esq., memb. num. soc., lond.
Berkshire	Major B. Lowsley, memb, num. soc., lond.
Cambridge	Rev. W. G. Searle, m.a.
Cheshire and Lancashire	Nathan Heywood, Esq., s.s.c., memb. num. soc., lond.
Cornwall	R. N. Worth, Esq., memb. num. soc., lond.
Devonshire, Hampshire and Staffordshire ...	Henry S. Gill, Esq., J.P., memb. num. soc., lond.
Dorsetshire	J. S. Udal, Esq., f. r. hist. soc.
Essex	C. W. Stainsfield, Esq., m.a.
Gloucester	Rev. B. H. Blacker, m.a., and Sir John Maclean, [f s.a., etc.
Hereford, Monmouth, Shropshire and Wales	J. W. Lloyd, Esq.
Hertford	R. T. Andrews, Esq., memb. num. soc., lond.
Huntingdon	W. Emery, Esq.
Kent	Rev. T. S. Frampton, m.a., and L. Clements, Esq.
Leicester	J. Young, Esq., mem. phar. soc.
Lincoln and Rutland ...	Justin Simpson, Esq.
London	J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq., f.s.a.
Norfolk and Suffolk ...	E. Skinner, Esq.
Northamptonshire ...	C. Dack, Esq.
Nottingham	J. Toplis, Esq., memb. num. soc., lond.

SOMERSET ...	... WM. BIDGOOD, ESQ., MEMB. SOMS. ARCHÆ. SOC.
SUSSEX	... REV. E. B. ELLMAN, M.A., & F. E. SAWYER, ESQ., F.S.A.
WARWICK ...	... W. H. TAYLOR, ESQ., MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.
WESTMORELAND ...	... C. NICHOLSON, ESQ., F.S.A.
WILTSHIRE ...	... W. CUNNINGTON, ESQ., and H. P. BLACKMORE, ESQ., M.D., MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.
WORCESTER ...	... W. A. COTTON, ESQ., MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.
YORKSHIRE ...	... C. E. FEWSTER, ESQ., MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.
IRELAND	... REV. CANON HAYMAN, and REV. CANON GRAINGER, D.D.; AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M.D., M.R.I.A., HON. MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.; W. FRASER, ESQ.; W. J. GILLESPIE, ESQ., MEMB. NUM. SOC., LOND.; and J. DAVIS WHITE, ESQ.

ALL THE REMAINING COUNTIES ARE THE WORK OF THE EDITOR.

While many hundreds of collectors, from all parts of the world, have sent information and particulars both of new Tokens and of their issuers.

To the compiler of family records and pedigrees, the worker in folk-lore, the local antiquarian and county archæologist, the work will prove a mine of information and a most valuable book of reference, but to the collector of Tokens it will be an absolute *vade mecum*, the *sine quâ non* of his library, and the indispensable treatise in all his researches and collections, and the student of heraldry will find in its pages numerous coats-of-arms of families, cities, towns, abbeys, traders, etc., of great interest.

The book is intended to be the standard work on the subject, and every possible care has been taken to insure its accuracy in every respect, hence the very long and, to many subscribers, tedious delay since the first announcement of its publication.

The requirement of such a book has been universally felt among numismatists, genealogists, and antiquaries, and it is the Editor's hope that the present issue will supply the need.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, JOHN EVANS, ESQ., D.C.L., LL.D., Treasurer R.S., President Numismatic Society, thus refers to the work:

"I am glad to see that one of our members, Mr. G. C. Williamson, of Guildford, has it in contemplation to issue either a supplement to Boyne or a revised edition of his work. I trust that his appeal to the numerous collectors throughout the country has been met in such a manner as to encourage him to undertake the task. These memorials of a bygone generation of traders, though not of the highest numismatic interest, throw much light on the manners and customs of the time, and to the local historian are of great value and interest."—*Anniversary Address to Num. Soc., June 18th*, 1885.

"I may take this opportunity of remarking that the comprehensive work on Seventeenth Century Tokens undertaken by Mr. Williamson is now making rapid progress, and that he has found able coadjutors in most of the English counties.

"In some, however, aid is still required, and I hope that among our members there may be found those ready and able to render it.

"In many collections, no doubt, there are accumulations of Seventeenth Century Tokens, extensive or otherwise, that their owners have not had the time or, perhaps, the inclination thoroughly to examine.

"If now they can be induced to take the task in hand, and communicate their unpublished varieties to Mr. Williamson, his work will be rendered more complete, and therefore more valuable to numismatists."—*Anniversary Address to Num. Soc., June 17th*, 1886.

The late well-known Antiquary, Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., took the warmest interest in the book, and had undertaken to contribute the counties of

Derby and Stafford, and to help in every possible way, and would have carried out his intention but for his unexpected illness and eventual decease in 1886.

The invaluable aid and advice of Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Mr. H. Wickham, Mr. G. E. Pritchett, F.S.A., Mr. C. T. Gatty, F.S.A., Mr. Jos. Clark, F.S.A., Mr. R. E. D. Palgrave, and very many other Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries and members of the learned Societies, have been received in the compilation of the work, and is most gratefully acknowledged.

The work will describe upwards of 20,000 tokens, and will contain some 1,600 pp., and be copiously indexed with 7 indexes, and contain many plates, woodcuts, and engravings.

*** *The work will be issued in two handsome Volumes, demy 8vo., tastefully printed, and bound in Roxburgh. TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY copies only will be printed, and will be supplied to Subscribers at £3 13s. 6d., and each copy will be numbered and signed.*

FIFTY copies will be printed on LARGE PAPER, and will be sold to Subscribers at £6 6s., and each copy will be numbered and signed.

As these numbers are expected to be appropriated as soon as the book is issued, and as the price will be considerably increased after issue, intending Subscribers are requested to make early application to the Publisher.

FORM OF ORDER.

Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century.

BY GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, F.R HIST. SOC.

MR. ELLIOT STOCK,

62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

Please enter my name as a Subscriber to the above-mentioned work, printed on *..... paper, and forward a copy to me when issued, at the Subscribers' price of *.....

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v.4 Transactions

DA20 Royal Historical Society, London
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